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THE CONQUEST OF NEW GRANADA

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BY

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Siempre la brevedad es una cosa
Con gran razon de todos alabada,
Y vemos que una platica es gustosa
Quanto mas breve y menos afectada.

Araucana, Canto xxvi

WITH A MAP

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY DON CARLOS E. RESTREPO

PRESIDENT

OF THE

REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA

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PREFACE

SOME knowledge of the civilisation of the Aztecs and Incas, of the conquests of Mexico and Peru as told by Prescott, with the stories of Cortes and Pizarro, is part of a liberal education. But the civilisation of the Chibchas and the story of the conquest of New Granada by Quesada has found no Prescott, and is unknown to our English literature.

A great many years ago, General Mosquera—a former well-known President of New Granada—dined with Sir Roderick Murchison at the Geographical Club, and took me in his carriage to the meeting. In conversation the General expressed regret that although Mexico and Peru had found a historian, writing in the English language, his own country—the story of which was quite as interesting—had not. General Mosquera was himself an author.¹

¹ *Geografía de la Nueva Granada*, por General Tomas Cipriano de Mosquera (New York, 1858). General Mosquera was born at Popayán in 1798. He was a comrade and intimate friend of Bolívar. President, 1844–49; again in 1863 and 1866. He died in 1878.

I pondered over this expression of regret by an eminent Colombian. At that very time I was consulting the most important of the New Granada chronicles, by Fray Pedro Simon, for another purpose.¹ I was then led to read 'Piedrahita,' a later chronicle, and to translate 'Cieza de Leon'; and I received encouragement to write on the subject from Sir Woodbine Parish.

But I waited for some more competent person with greater local knowledge to undertake the task of presenting to English readers the story of Chibcha civilisation and of the conquest of New Granada. I have waited for fifty years.

My personal knowledge of Colombia is confined to Santa Martha, Cartagena, and the Isthmus. But I have had occasions for studying the geography of that interesting country for official purposes. It became an object, in connection with chinchona cultivation in British India, to obtain and publish the valuable drawings of plants of the chinchona genus growing in Colombia, by Mutis, which I found in the tool-house of the Botanical Gardens at Madrid. I then obtained sanction for their publication under the editorship

¹ I was writing the Introduction to a volume of the Hakluyt Society entitled *The Search for El Dorado*.

of an eminent Colombian botanist, Don José Triana.¹ Afterwards I employed Mr. Cross, a very able gardener and traveller, to explore the region of the *C. Pitayensis*, to the east of Popayán and Timaná. He brought me back a detailed description of that interesting region. I also published, in 1867, translations of the works of Dr. Mutis and of Dr. Karstan on the chinchona genus, with introductory notes and lives. A letter from Señor Don Narciso Lorenzano, dated March 1864, on the subject of the cultivation of chinchona-trees in their original habitat, led to my publication, in Spanish, in 1867, of a handbook of chinchona cultivation for the use of Colombian proprietors. I subsequently had some official correspondence on Colombian forest conservancy, and was elected an Honorary Member of the Historical Society of Antioquia. In obtaining the MS. of the fourth part of the work of Mutis at Madrid, and printing it for the first time, M. Weddell was so good as to say that I rendered great service to the memory of the illustrious botanist of Colombia.

I mention these transactions to show that circumstances have conduced to a continuance of

¹ *Nouvelles études sur les quinquinas accompagnées de facsimile des dessins de la quinologie de Mutis*, por J. Triana (folio, Paris, 1870).

that interest in the land of the Chibchas which was first aroused by my conversation with General Mosquera.

I submit the following brief account of Chibcha civilisation and of the conquest of New Granada without any thought of its taking a place by the side of the works of Prescott. My intention is far enough from that. Its object is only to stop a gap in English literature until such time as it may be worthily filled by another more detailed work from the pen of some one who is intimately acquainted with all the localities, as well as with all the original sources of information, some of which are still undiscovered. I trust that such a future author may already exist, or will exist in due course. I have to offer my cordial thanks to His Excellency Don Ignacio Gutierrez-Ponce for assistance and advice. Don Ignacio is descended from three of the companions in arms of Quesada.

CLEMENTS B. MARKHAM.

21 ECCLESTON SQUARE, S.W.

September, 1912.

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THE STORY
OF
NEW GRANADA

CHAPTER I

THE TELLERS OF THE STORY

THE story of the Chibcha civilisation and of the conquest of New Granada ought long ago to have taken its place by the side of the stories of the conquest of Mexico and Peru; but there has been no Prescott for New Granada. Yet Quesada is quite as important and interesting a figure in history as Cortes or Pizarro. The materials from which such a story must be compiled are sufficient.

We have at least half a dozen reports or narratives from the actual actors in the scenes they describe. There are several detailed letters from Vasco Nuñez de Balboa,¹ the discoverer of the

¹ In the Navarrete Collection.

Pacific Ocean. There is the memoir of Pascual de Andagoya, narrating the later proceedings of Nuñez de Balboa, and his own subsequent experiences at Popayan.¹ There is a long letter from Pedro de Heredia, the Governor of Cartagena, to Charles V.²

Pedro de Cieza de Leon has described the expeditions of Vadillo and Robledo and the discovery of the Cauca valley. He was a youth of eighteen or nineteen at the time, but a keen observer, and everything he says is to be relied upon.

Gonzalo Jimenes de Quesada, the actual discoverer of New Granada, was a scholar and author. On his return in 1539 he sent in a report, entitled 'Epitome de la conquista del Nuevo Reino de Granada,'³ which is chiefly occupied with a description of the new country and the people. He also wrote a report on the services of his comrades, 'Memoria de los descubridores y conquistadores que entraron conmigo a descubrir y conquistar este reyno de Nueva Granada.' In his old age he wrote a much more important work, which he called 'Los tres ratos de Suesca.'⁴ It was

¹ In the Navarrete Collection, and translated for the Hakluyt Society.

² Muñoz Collection.

³ Printed by Espada in his pamphlet on *Castellanos*, 1889.

⁴ See chap. xv.

unfortunately lost; but the manuscript was in Bogotá when the chroniclers wrote, and they were able to use it in the compilation of their narratives.

Two of Quesada's captains, San Martin and Lebrija, wrote interesting reports, which were preserved at Simancas. They are in the collection of Muñoz, and were translated into French and published by Ternaux Compans.

The first chronicler was Castellanos. He went out to the Indies as a cavalry soldier, and was engaged in forays against the natives. His conscience seemed to have been disturbed by their treatment, and he went to Cartagena and entered Holy Orders. He became a canon of the cathedral there, and eventually went up the Magdalena and was cura of Tunja for many years. Castellanos had conversed with several of the first settlers, probably with Quesada himself. He first composed his chronicle in prose, and then—unfortunately, as I think—he turned it into rhyme, with the title 'Elegias de ilustres varones de Indias.' A good deal of accuracy and precision of statement is sacrificed to the exigencies of metrical treatment. Castellanos was also very credulous, and repeated some wholly incredible gossip. Jimenes de la

Espada published a very severe criticism on his work in 1889. But the rhyming chronicler, from his position and diligence in collecting materials, is quite indispensable, and was much used by subsequent writers. The first part appeared in 1588.¹

Friar Pedro Simon is a more important authority. He was born near Cuenca, in Spain, came out to Bogotá at the age of thirty, and joined the Order of Franciscans. He arrived in 1604, became Provincial in 1623, and began to write his 'Noticias Historiales.' He had travelled a good deal in New Granada, and in 1607 had accompanied Juan de Borgia, President of the *Audiencia*, in his campaign against the Pijaos Indians. He had the advantage of being able to use the manuscript history of the conquest, by Friar Pedro Medrano, who perished during Quesada's expedition into the eastern forests, leaving his work to be used by others, and then to be lost. Simon's first volume is on the discovery of Venezuela, and the expedition of the pirate Aguirre down the Amazons, which is told in great detail.² The two other parts

¹ The fourth part is lost, but the MS. was seen and used by Simon and others. The three parts were published in one volume at Madrid, in 1847.

² Translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society.

are occupied with the Chibcha civilisation and the Spanish conquest of New Granada. It is believed that Father Simon died in Spain. His work is very valuable, and the most authentic account that has come down to us.¹

The work of Lucas Fernandez Piedrahita is better known, and is based on the chronicles of Castellanos and Simon. This author was born at Bogotá in 1618, the son of Don Domingo Fernandez Piedrahita and Catalina Collantes.² In his youth he was good-natured, vivacious, and full of humour. He was fond of poetry, and even wrote some comedies—now lost. He entered Holy Orders, was cura of Fusagasugá, and canon of the cathedral of Santa Fé de Bogotá. A judge, who had some spite against the canon, trumped up false accusations; and there was a lawsuit which obliged Piedrahita to go to Spain. It lasted for years. It was during this long period of waiting that he wrote his history. He had the use of Quesada's work, the fourth part of Castellanos's, and Simon's. Piedrahita's work is well arranged, he adheres well to his authorities, and writes in an agreeable

¹ The second part was printed at Cuenca in 1627.

² Piedrahita, on his mother's side, was descended from the Incas of Peru. His mother's great-grandfather, Juan Muñoz Collantes, married Francesca Coya, an Inca princess.

style. The lawsuit at last ended in his complete exoneration, and he was appointed Bishop of Santa Martha. He proved a most devoted prelate, visiting the uncivilised Indians, and going about in rags that he might spend all his income in charity and in the work of rebuilding the cathedral. In 1676 he was translated to Panama; but before he could start for his new see, Santa Martha was surprised by buccaneers. The bishop was tortured to give up his supposed treasure, carried off because he could not pay any ransom, dreadfully ill-treated, and at last brought before the buccaneer Morgan at Providence. That prince of buccaneers released him, and even presented him with some canonicals he had stolen. Piedrahita at last reached Panama, and was installed as bishop. He there preached in the streets as well as in his cathedral, gave his whole income in charity, and devoted much of his time to the Derien Indians. This devoted prelate and excellent writer died at Panama in 1688, aged seventy.

The Father Friar Antonio de Zamora was born at Bogotá, but was some twenty years younger than Piedrahita. He was the historian of the Dominican Order in New Granada, and was a mere panegyrist so far as the brethren of his Order were

concerned. He, however, consulted all the manuscripts and official documents within his reach, as well as those of Simon and Piedrahita, but he was credulous and without any gift of criticism. His work was finished in 1696, and printed at Barcelona in 1701.

There is a manuscript written by a native of Bogotá named Juan Rodriguez Fresle, son of one of the conquistadores, who wrote in 1636. He brings the history down to 1618; but its chief interest is local, being concerned with the affairs of the city of Bogotá.

Juan Flores de Ocariz was an officer of the Bogotá municipality, who wrote a work on the genealogies of the settlers in New Granada, which was published at Madrid in 1634. A lady, in more modern times, Doña Soledad Acosta de Samper, also wrote biographies of the more illustrious and notable men of the new kingdom of Granada.

Cassini, the Jesuit historian, gives an account of the missions of the Company; but the Jesuits did not arrive in New Granada until 1598. His work was printed at Madrid in 1741.

The general histories of Herrera and Oviedo must be consulted by the student of the history of New Granada; but Herrera seldom gives his

authorities. Oviedo passed some time in the Indies.

The writers who have devoted their studies specially to the Chibcha people call for attention, but they have been referred to in the chapters on Chibcha civilisation. These are Domingo Duquesne, who wrote a dissertation on the Chibcha calendar; Bernardo de Lugo, a native of Bogotá, whose grammar saved the Chibcha language from oblivion; Joaquin Acosta, who has given an excellent general view of Chibcha culture in chapter xi. of his larger work; and Ezequiel Uricoechea. The last-named scholar published a valuable memoir on the antiquities of New Granada and the Chibcha religion and government, at Berlin in 1854, and a grammar and vocabulary of the Chibcha language, at Paris in 1871.

The admirable work of Colonel Joaquin Acosta, entitled 'A historical compendium of the discovery and colonization of New Granada in the sixteenth century,' published at Paris in 1848, of which the chapter xi. above referred to forms a part, deserves very special notice. The author had carefully studied every available authority, whether printed or in manuscript. He has condensed them, and discriminated between them with critical

skill and sound judgment. His work is admirably arranged, and his style is agreeable and scholarly. Colonel Acosta had a great advantage in being well acquainted with the countries in which the memorable scenes of the conquest were enacted. With the Quesadas he had penetrated into the Amazonian forests; with Vadillo he had explored the valley of the Cauca; he had lived among the pure-blooded Chibchas; and had visited the tribes on the shores of the Gulf of Darien. He then went to Spain to examine the archives of the Indies and the great collection of Muñoz. Thus equipped, Colonel Acosta¹ produced a standard work which must have been of essential service during the last sixty-four years to successive generations of the youth of Colombia.

Colonel Acosta suggested to Mr. Prescott that he should write the history of the conquest of New Granada, as he had done those of Mexico and Peru, offering him all the materials he had collected. But Mr. Prescott declined, having commenced his history of Philip II.

¹ Joaquin Acosta was born at Guaduas in 1800. A patriotic soldier and diplomatist, as well as a geographer and historian. He published a new edition of the *Semanario of Caldas*, at Paris in 1849, and his own historical work the previous year. Colonel Acosta died in 1852:

At present, a younger generation is giving its attention to the early history of Colombia, especially the members of the National Academy of History. Ernesto Restrepo Tirado has just published an excellent monograph on the Quimbaya tribe in the Cauca valley. Another monograph on the Panches is from the pen of Eugenio Ortega, and we have a very interesting paper on the epitaph of the great Sugamuxi from the pen of the same writer. Señor Carlos Cuervo Marquez has written important papers on the origin of the Chibchas and other tribes in Colombia, on the Caribs, on their invasion of Colombia, and a very interesting series of essays on his journeys over various parts of the country.

CHAPTER II

THE CHIBCHA NATION

THERE was a rising civilisation in the north-west part of South America, now the Republic of Colombia, which has received less notice than it deserves. For it is a striking example of the influence of geographical environment on the development of mankind.^(?) This will be seen by a consideration of the main features of the region, some 600 by 400 miles, which is now known as Colombia.

The great mountain chain of the Andes divides, in about 2° N. Lat., into four cordilleras, cut deep by three principal rivers flowing north: the Atrato, nearest to the Pacific Ocean; the Cauca and the Magdalena, which unite about ninety miles before they reach the Carribbean Sea.¹ The cordillera nearest to the Pacific Ocean continues

¹ The Magdalena is the fourth in rank of the great South American rivers. Its length is 1240 miles, of which 807 are navigable.

along the Isthmus of Panama, thus connecting the Andes with the mountain system of North America; and the Atrato, draining its eastern watershed, falls into the Gulf of Darien or Urabá. The Atrato is separated from the much longer and more important Cauca valley by a cordillera which, in its northern part, was known to the early Spanish explorers as the Sierra de Abibe. A lofty cordillera, called the Sierra de Pijaos, divides the Cauca from the Magdalena valley. Lastly, the Eastern Cordillera, covering a much wider area, has the Magdalena on one side and the vast tropical forest of Venezuela, chiefly in the basin of the River Meta, on the other.

This magnificent region of snowy mountains, noble rivers, and rich tropical vegetation was well peopled by numerous tribes, both on the coast¹ and in the river valleys. The central river, Cauca, was inhabited by several tribes, often at war with each other, who had made some advances in the arts and crafts.² The Armas and Quimbayas³ appear

¹ Three hundred miles of coast facing the Carribean Sea, besides the Pacific coast.

² An interesting monograph on the Quimbayas, by Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, was published at Bogotá in 1912.

³ Described by Cieza de Leon, who served under Vadillo and Robledo in the first discovery of the Cauca valley. See my translation of his *Cronica*, printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1864.

to have been the principal Cauca tribes. The former, settled on the right bank of the river, over an extent of thirty or forty miles, were supposed to have numbered 20,000 souls, living in villages consisting of large round dwellings fortified with stakes. In war they put on circlets of gold, breastplates, and beautiful plumes of feathers. They had banners, darts, bows and arrows, lances, clubs, and slings. They were bold and valiant. They worshipped idols and had incensors of clay burning before them, the figures being very rudely carved in wood and stone. An immense number of small gold figures were found in their tombs. As to their cannibalism there is some truth in the statement; but the accusation is made by the Spaniards against all valiant defenders of their homes:—

No porque alli comiesen carne humana
Mas porque defendian bien su casa,¹

as old Castellanos sings. There were only slight differences between the Armas and the other tribes of the Cauca and Magdalena. They grew maize and cotton; and Enciso tells us that on the coast

¹ Not because they ate human flesh,
But because they bravely defended their homes.—

Elegias, part ii, canto 3.

they had fruit-trees bearing delicious fruit, and made channels for irrigation. Their advances towards civilisation did not go further. It is true that a vast cemetery was found at Zenu, near the Sierra de Abibe, with an immense number of sepulchral mounds, all containing gold ornaments very skilfully worked to represent every kind of animal from a man to an ant.¹ It has been conjectured that the cemetery at Zenu represented an ancient civilisation which had disappeared like that of Chiriquí, with which it may have been allied ; but this is doubtful.

These tribes of the Cauca and Magdalena valleys had not advanced beyond a certain stage which was alone adapted for their surroundings. For they dwelt in deep valleys with tropical vegetation, and on steep mountain sides suitable rather for hunting than for cultivation. Very different was the progress of the same race when endowed with a more favourable environment.

¹ On the death of a chief or important person they embalmed the body with certain herbs, and wrapped it in cotton of various colours. At a place called Catorapa, Enciso says that he found upwards of twenty of these mummies kept in the houses with the living. At Zenu the great men were buried in the sepulchral mounds, it is said, with their wives and favourite servants, with jars and pottery, and many gold ornaments.

On the lofty plateau, where the Magdalena rises, there are ruins and carved stones which appear to be the remains of a prehistoric race in the valley of San Agustin, which had established a civilisation, though not very advanced, over South Colombia. These people may have been connected with the megalithic empire of Peru. The San Agustin remains have recently been carefully investigated by Señor Carlos Cuervo Marquez and by Dr. K. Theodor Stoepel of Heidelberg.

In the Eastern Cordillera, between 4° and 7° N. Lat., there is an elevated region in a temperate climate, with extensive plains and fertile valleys separated by uplands with alpine lakes. Here a more advanced stage of civilisation might be expected, attained by the same race; and here it was found. The country of the Chibchas is about 150 miles long from north to south and about 40 miles wide, covering 600 square miles, with a population, before the Spanish cataclysm, of 1,200,000, or 2000 to the square league.⁷ It is 240 miles from the sea at Santa Martha. To the north is the River Sogamoso; to the south rise the lofty mountains of Suma Paz; to the west is the great Magdalena River; and to the east the cordillera sinks

down into the primeval forests of the Amazonian basin. The northern half of this favoured region is drained by streams flowing northwards as tributaries of the Sogamoso, which falls into the Magdalena. The River Funza drains the southern half, flowing from the Eastern Cordillera over the fertile plain of Bogotá. It then forces its way through a rocky barrier, and descends in one rush into the Magdalena valley by the magnificent falls of Tequendama, one of the highest waterfalls in the world.

The inhabitants of this favoured region were called Chibchas. The Spaniards thought the name was 'Muysca,' but this was merely the word for a man in the Chibcha language. These Chibchas must needs have led very sober and laborious lives. Without any domestic animals either for food or for draught, they depended solely on their skill and hard work to raise crops of maize, potatoes, some other edible roots, and beans for their sustenance, and on their prowess as hunters. They also had constantly to defend their homes against two fierce tribes on their western frontier, the Panches and Colimas.¹ They were sturdy, thickset

¹ There is believed to have been a great invasion of the formidable Caribs; and these Panches and Colimas were of the Carib race.

men with less oval faces than the Peruvians, noses less aquiline, it would seem from the appearance of their descendants, but the same bright intelligent eyes. Their bearing was that of a brave and hard-working, yet imaginative, people. Quesada said that they were the finest people he had seen in the Indies: the men well formed and strong; the women handsome, dressed in white robes, with a mantle round the shoulders, and a garland on their heads. Colonel Acosta wrote in the highest terms of the valour, constancy, coolness, and discipline of the descendants of the Chibchas as soldiers. Their lives of hard work, passed between agricultural pursuits and defensive warfare, had probably continued for ages. Their country was healthy and productive, but its height above the sea debarred its inhabitants from the use of many things needful for progress. Commerce was essential for any great advance in civilisation; and by slow degrees the practice of exchange of products rose to a well-established system, an increase in knowledge and in needs coming with it.

Besides their cereal and root crops, the Chibchas were fortunate in possessing important salt-mines. The manufacture of this salt, from the mines of Zipacuirá and Nemocon, gave rise to a considerable

trade. The products of the Chibcha plateaux were exchanged for fruits, coca, skins, birds, canes, and timber from the eastern forests; for gold-dust and cotton from the Magdalena and further west; and for silver from the south. The chief market was at Coyaima on the banks of the Magdalena River. There was another, frequented by the northern tribes coming for salt, on the Sarabita River. Another market was at Turmequé, to which the Chibchas brought emeralds from Somondoco.

Commerce led in course of time to manufactures. The Chibchas became excellent weavers of cotton cloths, there were extensive pottery factories, and the people of Guatavita were renowned workers in gold. The men of rank wore cotton tunics to below the knee, generally white but sometimes dyed black or red, and confined round the waist by a broad belt. Their caps were of the skins of wild animals, with plumes, and in front a half-moon of gold. They also wore bracelets and ear-rings. The women wore a square mantle, brought round to the front and fastened by a wide belt, and a small mantle over the shoulders secured by a great pin of gold. All their clothes were home-made. Finally, they were beginning to export

their manufactures, made from articles that had been imported.

The houses of the Chibchas were built of stones and clay, the rooms having their walls adorned with cane covered with ornamental reed matting. The roofs were thatched. They were beginning to erect important edifices of stone for temples and palaces, though their principal place of worship at Suamo was still of the immemorial materials. But it is reported by a recent writer ¹ that he found the site of a stone temple, at Ramiriquí in the province of Tunja, built east and west, and of great extent. There were twenty-seven cylindrical pillars, very well worked, lying near each other.

We have thus seen a people of the same race as the rest of the inhabitants of the region now called Colombia, by steady hard work and intelligence, advancing far beyond any of their compatriots in the paths of civilisation. That this progress was due entirely to their geographical environment there cannot be a doubt. Blessed with a temperate and healthy climate, inhabiting a fertile land of wide plains and open valleys, surrounded by grand scenery, they had every

¹ Velez Barrientos (*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, Aug. 1847, p. 97).

every statement

qualification and every incitement for advancing step by step towards a goal which they were never destined to reach, as the Incas did, to predominance and empire. When the cataclysm destroyed them they had just reached the stage which the Incas occupied previous to the Chanca War. But hard work alone, industry alone, had not raised them to the point they had attained, nor would industry alone have taken them further. It was their care for their ancient traditions, their devoted loyalty to their rulers, their patriotic fervour in defending their country against invaders, their zeal in extending the dominion of their kings which, combined with habits acquired by long ages of industry, would have led them on to empire.

The religion and traditions and the civil government of such a people are worthy of record and of study, because they reflect the genius of a nation on its way to achievement: not because it will throw any light on their origin, for it will not. The Chibchas had always been where they were found, though their civilisation may have been partly due to extraneous help, as we shall presently see.

Amalgamation

CHAPTER III

THE CHIBCHA RELIGION

THE religion of an agricultural people would naturally centre round the beneficent influences which presided over their sowing and their harvests. It was so with the Chibchas. The sun and, in a less degree, the moon were the objects of their reverential adoration; while the more thoughtful among them recognised the existence of a great first cause. An imaginative people preserved traditions of ancient worthies who had conferred benefits upon them in times past, and who had been converted, in the course of ages, into mythical heroes and demigods. Such legends became, to some extent, interwoven with the main religious ideas of propitiation of the supernatural powers, who could grant or withhold success for the harvests.

The Chibchas held that, in the beginning of all things, the light was enclosed in a great receptacle,

which cannot be described, called Chiminigagua, or the Creator. The first things that came out from this creative force were black birds, which, flying over the world, sent forth a resplendent air from their beaks which illuminated the whole earth. The origin of the human race is thus explained. Soon after the dawn of the first day a beautiful woman, named Bachue (or Fuzachogua), came out of Lake Iguaque, four leagues north of Tunja. She had with her a child of three years old. When the child grew up he married Bachue, whence came the human race. Then both disappeared into the lake and became serpents. The Chibchas venerated Bachue and the child, and made statuettes of them in gold and in wood.

These people believed that the souls of the dead went to the centre of the earth: first passing a great river in boats made of cobwebs—for which reason it was not permitted to kill spiders.

Bochica appears to have been a great ruler or benefactor of the Chibchas at some remote time, and became a demigod residing in the sun, a beneficent being, and the tutelary deity of the chiefs called Usaques. A deity called Chibchacum was the guardian deity of the Chibchas, though not a very beneficent one, it would seem.

Nemcatacoa watched over weavers, woodmen, drunkards, and was represented as a bear covered with a cloak. Chaque was the guardian deity of boundaries, crops, processions, and festivals; Bachue took care of the bean crops; Cuchavira, the rainbow, was invoked for childbirth and fevers, and was a messenger of the sun.

Garachacha¹ (sometimes confounded with Bochica) was some ancient worthy who preached at several places, and disappeared at Sogamoso, where a great temple was raised for his worship; and before his departure² he arranged the method of selecting the High Priest or Iraca, intended to be a peacemaker and mediator.

There was an interesting legend to account for the great waterfall of Tequendama. The guardian deity of the Chibchas had become indignant at the excesses of the inhabitants of the plain of Bogotá, and determined to punish them. Suddenly two rivers, which had hitherto flowed in another direction, were turned into the plain and

¹ He had other names—*Nemterequeteba*, *Chinzapagua*, and *Xue*. He is said to have preached at Bosa, Muequeta, Fontibon, and Cota. Crowds came to hear him.

² When they heard the legend, the monks promptly gave Garachacha a long white beard, made him come from the East, and declared that he was either St. Bartholomew or St. Thomas.

converted it into a lake. The people took refuge in the hills. They prayed to Bochica, who appeared one afternoon at sunset, on a rainbow, and offered to remove the evil. His powerful aid was gratefully accepted. Bochica struck the rocks of Tequendama with his golden sceptre, and an opening was made by which the waters precipitated themselves. The plain once more appeared, more fertile than before. Bochica, to punish Chibchacum for having afflicted the people, obliged him to support the land, which was previously held up by firm props of *lignum-vitæ*. Unfortunately, this retribution was not without inconvenience, for from that time there were earthquakes. The natives explained this by saying that they were caused by Chibchacum passing his burden from one shoulder to the other. Doubtless the minds of this imaginative people wrought out many other legends of the same kind, but they are lost to us.

The Chibchas had temples, but they preferred to make their offerings to great rocks, to lakes or waterfalls in the midst of grand scenery, especially when the offerings had reference to some romantic legend of the past. The lake of Guatavita was annually the scene of one of these solemn

offerings. It is three miles from Siecha, on the top of a high mountain—a small tarn not more than a stone's throw across. There are some low bushes on its banks, and a strange being used to appear on its waters to whom offerings of gold and emeralds were made, the priest having watched for its appearance. The story was that the wife of the chief of Guatavita committed treason with a courtier, and it became known to the chief. The man was put to death. The wife jumped into the lake with her child, and was drowned. The chief repented of his wrath, and ordered the principal magician to restore the wife and child to him. The magician plunged into the lake, but came back to report that the wife and child were lodged better than if they were in the chief's house, and would not return.

The story had a strange effect on the people, which was not a passing delusion but lasted, and the resort to the lake grew in importance. The offerings continued to increase, and came from many of the principal chiefs. It was believed that a lady appeared on the lake naked to the waist, her lower half wrapped in a red cotton mantle. Annually the chiefs went to the centre of the lake in boats to offer the gifts with certain ceremonies.

The chief of Guatavita, perfectly naked, was anointed all over, and then covered with gold-dust, so that he appeared to be a golden man, *El Dorado*. He then dived, while offerings of gold were thrown into the lake. The banks were crowded with devotees, all with their presents. It must have been a strange ceremony—indeed, quite unique. This love of the mysterious and devotion to the heroes or heroines of strange legends was a phase in the character of this interesting people.

It is said that when the Spaniards came, much gold was thrown into the lake of Guatavita. The chief of Simijaca alone threw forty *quintals* of fine gold into it. Spaniards, thirsting for gold, tried to drain the lake. Lazaro Fonte tried. Then Antonio de Sepulveda of Bogotá undertook the work in 1580. The soundings gave twenty-five fathoms. About 6000 *ducados* of gold were found near the shore; but funds were short and the attempt was abandoned. An account of a more recent attempt to drain the lake, by José Ignacio Paris in 1822, was given by Captain Cochrane, R.N., in his book of travels.¹ Humboldt has given a view of Lake Guatavita² in the 'Vues des

¹ *Travels in Colombia*, ii. 193–208.

² Plate 60 of folio ed. ; i. 19, 8vo ed.

Cordillères.' It was a dreary place enough ; only a little mountain tarn, in the absence of the golden chief, the gorgeous ceremony, and the attendant crowds.¹

Fond as they were of this romantic hero-worship, in which they could indulge at Guatavita and many such places where folk-lore was stored, the real business religion of the Chibcha people was the worship and propitiation of the celestial body which could give or withhold a plentiful harvest.

The temples of the Chibchas were large buildings, the most sacred being that of the Iraca at Suamo (Sogamoso), near Tunja. Round the walls stood large vases of different shapes to receive offerings. Some were figures of clay with holes in the upper part ; others were simple jars buried in the ground, except the mouth. The priests, called Jeques, had dwellings near the temples, and they had schools into which those destined for the priesthood entered very young, for a long and careful training was essential. It was most important that

¹ Rumours of 'El Dorado' spread over Europe. The Spaniards sought for him in the basin of the Amazons, the English on the Orinoco, the Germans in the Venezuelan forests ; while all the time he was the hero of a local ceremony in a tarn of the Chibcha mountains.

the neophytes should thoroughly understand the principle of the Chibcha calendar, which was rather complicated, and the religious system which was, in great part, based upon it.

The only deity to which a human sacrifice was ever offered was the sun. The stones which received the first rays of the rising sun were anointed with the young victim's blood. All connected with this solemn sacrifice had a symbolic relation to the division of time, the calendar, and the ingenious intercalations dominating the course of sowing and harvest.

The sacrificial victim was taken as a child, and very carefully trained and educated by the priests. He was called the *Gueso*, or 'homeless one.' He had another name, *Quyhyca*, meaning a 'door' and a 'mouth.' On attaining his fifteenth year, the ceremony was performed with great pomp. There was a wide, level road from the chief's house to the sacrificial post, down which the procession went. The people came in batches, dressed in skins of pumas and jaguars and adorned with jewels. Behind, was a throng of dancers and singers. It was all symbolic. The victim was fastened to the carved post by a rope, the heart was cut out, and offered to the solar deity. 'What I loved best, to

thee I gave.' Less precious gifts were offered also: parrots and macaws from the distant forests, deer and partridges from their own hillsides.

As the civilisation of the Chibchas advanced there would probably have been something substituted for the human victims, such as a ram caught in a thicket or two pigeons. This was the case in Peru, llamas taking the place of human beings. At the time when their existence as free agents ended, the Chibcha legislators thought that the dramatic character of the sacrifice was calculated to arouse the religious feeling of the people, and impress them with the duty of worshipping and sacrificing to the sun; for on the beneficent care of the solar deity depended their means of subsistence.

Thus the Chibchas believed in a creator, or great first cause, called Chiminigagua—a venerated name, but needing no special propitiation or worship. Their principal deities were the sun and moon, which were earnestly prayed to and propitiated, and to the sun alone was a human sacrifice offered. Not only were these celestial bodies supposed to control and have power over all the different phases of the crops on which the people's subsistence

depended, but they were also intimately connected with all calculations needed for the adjustment of their calendar. The marriage of the sun (*Sua*) and the moon (*Chie*) refer to the complicated system of bringing the lunar in unison with the solar year. Bochica, with close solar connection, if not actually dwelling in the sun, seems to form a link between the celestial and the anthropomorphic phases of the Chibcha religion. His intervention to create the waterfall of Tequendama, and his guardianship of the rulers of the people, partake of the latter character, and bring him, as it were, into fellowship with the demigods, heroes, and heroines created by the Chibcha mind when imagination was given full play. These people seemed to need something nearer and dearer than the great solar deity to which to bring offerings, and on which to indulge their religious tendencies, after giving due worship to their sun-god.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHIBCHA LANGUAGE AND CALENDAR

IN considering the civilisation of the Chibchas, we must always have it in our minds that it was a civilisation advancing on its own lines and in its own way—still crude and unformed in many ways—but with an onward progress. In this condition a destructive cataclysm came, like a bolt from the blue, and there was an end. The Chibchas had long been an agricultural people, probably for many ages. One reason for this belief is that, in their language, there were so many words for different kinds of the products of their crops. For various sorts and colours of maize there were eight, for potatoes ten words. This means centuries of cultivation.

Thus the language made progress as the needs for a fuller vocabulary increased. Some notice of it is desirable in a study of the Chibcha civilisation, because it is so closely connected with the details of the calendar; and the correct principle

on which that calendar is founded is one of the proofs that the culture of the Chibchas had reached a stage beyond that of barbarism.

Chibcha has been a dead language for upwards of two centuries.¹ The only printed grammar and vocabulary actually taken from the mouths of the people themselves was written, under orders from his superiors, by a native of Bogota, early in the seventeenth century. This was a priest, who was an excellent Chibcha scholar, Dr. Bernardo de Lugo, whose work was published at Madrid in 1619. It is now very rarely to be met with.² Another native of the Chibcha country, an eminent antiquary, Don Ezequiel Uricoechea, has written a more complete grammar and dictionary of the language, based on the work of Lugo and on three manuscripts, concerning the history and character of which he does not, however, supply any information. His work is the best and most detailed

¹ Only eight words have survived, and are now used by the natives of Bogotá, of Spanish descent. These are: *chajua*, rest; *chiguaca*, purslain; *chiza*, the larva of a beetle; *chucua*, a fishery; *cuba*, a younger brother; *afutynsuca*, rot in potatoes; *guapucha*, a small fish; *iomgo*, the share of the potato harvest given to those who have helped; and *chunso*, small idol of gold or other metal.

² *Gramatica de la lengua Chibcha por Bernardo de Lugo* (Madrid, 1619). Colonel Acosta mentions a dictionary and grammar of the Chibcha language in MS. with no author's name. Grammar, 96 pp. in 12mo; dictionary, 200 pp.

that exists on the subject. It was published at Paris in 1871.¹

The language, with a fairly full vocabulary, is somewhat lacking in grammatical construction. The nouns, substantive and adjective, have no cases, except, in some words, a possessive genitive ; no genders and no plurals. Cases are provided for by prepositions following the word. The plural is indicated sometimes by the actual number being given, at others by the verb. The pronouns denote the persons of the verb substantive, *gue*, which only has one mood and two forms for tenses, *gue* for present and preterite, *nga* for future. There is also a negative verb substantive. The verbs have two endings for the first person indicative, *scua* and *suca*, the participle forming in *nca*.

As is the case with several other South American languages, there are a good many words to denote different degrees of relationship. There are twenty-nine in the Chibcha language.

The system of numeration is complete. The first ten numbers are counted on the fingers ; for the next ten the numbers were repeated with

¹ *Gramatica, vocabulario, catecismo y confesionario de la lengua Chibcha, segun antiquos manuscritos anominos e ineditos, aumentados i corregidos por E. Uricoechea*, p. 252 (Paris, 1871).

the word *quihicha* added, which means a toe. There is a special word for twenty, *gueta*, and the former twenty words for numerals are repeated with the addition of the word *asaquy* (and more) up to forty, and so on, to a hundred in twenties, a hundred being *gue hisca* (five twenties).

There is a close connection between the unit numerals and the calendar, which is thus explained.

The day was *sua*, the night *za*. The two together had four divisions: from sunrise to noon called *sua mena*, noon to sunset *sua meca*, sunset to midnight *zasca*, and midnight to sunrise *cagui*.

Three days made a week and ten weeks made a month. The days of the months were denoted by the ten numerals repeated three times. So that *ata* (one) is the first, eleventh, and twenty-first of each month.

The ordinary year consisted of twenty months and was called *Zocam*. There was also an astronomical year of the priests and other initiated persons which consisted of thirty-seven months, or three of our years and one intercalated month, to reconcile the difference between the lunar and solar years. The cycle consisted of twenty of these astronomical years, or sixty of our years.

The names of all the first ten numerals had hieroglyphic figures attached to them which had reference to the phases of the moon, to the seasons connected with the sowing, growth, and harvesting of their crops, and to their superstitions, and thus they lead us directly to the formation of the calendar.

One was *Ata*, represented by a toad in the act of leaping, which was the symbol for water. The time of sowing.

Two was *Bosa*, the sign of which was a nose with open nostrils. It represented a sowing round the central sowing to preserve the latter from harm.

Three was *Mica*, for which the sign was two eyes open. Time for selecting seed.

Four was *Muyhica*, two eyes shut. The dark and rainy season.

Five was *Hizca*. The hieroglyphic was two figures united, denoting the wedding of sun and moon, rest and a green earth.

Six was *Ta*, the sign being a post with a rope attached, the Guesa sacrifice. Harvest.

Seven was *Cuhupcua*, of which the sign was two ears. Time for storing in granaries.

Eight was *Suhuza*, the sign being a tail or the end, after the harvesting.

Nine was *Aca*, two toads one on the other, the time of generation.

Ten was *Ubchihica*, the sign being an ear. Time of full moon.

Twenty, *Gueta*, had for its sign a toad displayed or spread out, symbol of felicity. Home and farm.

Evidently the Chibchas were on the eve of inventing a system of hieroglyphic writing.

The ordinary year consisted of twenty moons or months. When it was terminated they counted another twenty months, and so on until they had completed twenty of these twenties. The intercalation of a month became necessary after the thirty-sixth month, to make the lunar correspond with the solar year. The ordinary year of twenty months was used by the people without the intercalation being noticed, while the initiated had their astronomical year of thirty-seven months in which months were intercalated at the right time, in succession, through the cycle. Carved stones have been found, with the object of illustrating the intercalation of the different months indicated by their symbols. These stones were usually circular, but some were pentagons, to signify that they refer to five intercalary years, the twelfth part of the cycle. The Chibcha cycle

of twenty years of thirty-seven moons each, equal to sixty of our years, was divided into four periods of ten Chibcha years, equal to fifteen of our years. A grand sacrifice of the *Guesa* took place at the end of each of the fifteen years. When the cycle is completed, *Ata*, the first numeral and month when the cycle began, returns to that place again, all the other months having held it in turn, during the interval.

It was a priest named Dr. Don José Domingo Duquesne de la Madrid, the Cura of the Chibcha village of Gachancipá, who made a special study of the Chibcha calendar, discovering and decyphering some astronomical stones, and he fully discussed the system by which their intercalation made the lunar year periodically conform to the solar year. Dr. Duquesne's manuscript was shown, by Dr. José Celestino de Mutis, the eminent botanist, to Baron Humboldt at Bogotá, who published some account of it.¹ But the whole text was first published by Colonel Acosta.²

¹ *Vues des Cordillères, et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique*, par Alexandre de Humboldt (Paris, 1810).

² 'Disertacion sobre el calendario de los Muyscas dedicada a Señor Dr. Don José Celestino de Mutis por el Dr. Don José Domingo Duquesne de la Madrid, Cura de la Iglesia de Gachancipá.' It forms an appendix to Colonel Acosta's work—*Compendio Historico de la Nueva Granada* (Paris, 1848).

The system of intercalation worked out automatically and the initiated were enabled to regulate the times and seasons with ease and accuracy. They taught their sons with care and tenacity, marking the seasons by festivals, and by the periodical sacrifices, in order firmly to impress the memory.

But observations for times of solstice and equinox are essential to initiate such a system, and to adjust and confirm the calculations. None are mentioned. The Peruvians made such observations regularly to correct the lunar year, and inserted the required intercalations. With the Chibchas there were none. Yet at some time or other, when their system was worked out, observations must have been taken. This seems to suggest that there is a foundation of truth in their traditions that in the distant past, strangers arrived to instruct them—Bochica and Garachacha. If so, I should be inclined to think that their most probable origin was the ancient megalithic empire of Peru, which flourished previous to that of the Incas. The traces of these instructors are to be found in the two Quichua words, *topu*, a pin of gold, and the word for a rainbow, which has a resemblance in the two languages. They

got imbedded in the Chibcha.¹ In the Andean region the advance was ever from the south northwards, of which there are many indications. The subject has been discussed elsewhere.²

It will, I think, be seen that there is reason to conclude, from all that is known of the Chibcha language, religion, and calendar, that their civilisation will bear comparison with that of the Aztecs, and of the earlier period of the Incas before their great conquests were commenced. There is no evidence of any foreign communication, beyond the possible arrival of the two instructors, venerated as demigods in after ages. Allowing for the possibility of that ancient help the Chibchas were working out their civilisation without further assistance from without.

¹ *Cuchavira* was the name of the Chibcha rainbow god, but the ordinary word is *Chuquy*. In the Inca language it is *Cuychi*. The Inca word for a gold breast-pin is *topu*, and it is the same in *Chibcha*.

² See *The Incas of Peru*, chap. ii.

CHAPTER V

CHIBCHA GOVERNMENT: THE ZIPA AND THE ZAQUE

THE Chibcha people were governed by two sovereigns: the Zipa in the southern half of the country, including the plain of Bogotá; and the Zaque in the northern half. There was also a religious chief called Iraca at the great temple of Suamo, about twenty miles from Tunja, the capital of the Zaque. This office, and the succession to it, was instituted by the mythical civiliser Garachacha. The Iraca was to be elected alternately from among the inhabitants of two districts¹ by four chiefs.²

The Zipa and Zaque were despotic, ordaining laws, administering justice, presiding over festivals, and leading their armies. The veneration of their subjects was profound. They were surrounded by Usaques, or chiefs of provinces. When, previously, independent chiefs were reduced to

¹ *Tobaza* and *Firabitoba*.

² The chiefs of *Gameza*, *Busbanza*, *Pesca*, and *Toca*.

submission they were not deprived, but continued to hold their territories as fiefs of the sovereign.

The Zipa had many concubines, called *Thiguyes*, but only one recognised wife. The law of succession was one which also existed in other far-distant parts of the world. It was not the son of the sovereign who succeeded, but the eldest son of his sister. This heir was obliged to enter a house of seclusion at Chia, a hill rising out of the plain of Bogotá, at the age of sixteen. Here he had to receive instruction and to undergo a series of fasts. This peculiar law ensured the absolute certainty of descent from ancestral Zipas, though not in the male line. The heir became Usaque, or chief of Chia.

There was the same rule of succession in the family of the chief of Quito, and among the tribes in the Cauca Valley, as we are told by Cieza de Leon; nor was the rule peculiar to the New World. The Zamorin of Calicut, the Rajahs of Cochin and Travancore, all the Nairs of Malabar and the people of Canara have the same law of succession; also the chief of Tipperah, the Khasias of Sylhet, and the Bintennes of Ceylon. In North America the Natchez and Huron had this kind of succession, as well as the aborigines of Hayti; also some

Malays in Sumatra, the Malagazis, Fijis, and certain negro tribes of the Niger.

The capital of the Zipa was at a place called Muequeta, surrounded by lakes and branches of the river. Here were the various buildings and storehouses which together formed the sovereign's palace. The walls were of wood and adobe, and the roofs were thatched. The interior was more suitable for a regal court. The walls were lined with canes secured by cords worked into patterns in various colours, while cotton cloths covered the wooden thrones and chairs, and the ground was carpeted with matting. But no detailed description of the Zipa's palaces has come down to us.

The Zipa also had several pleasure houses in the country. There was one at Tabio, with gardens and baths of thermal waters; another at Tinansucá on the descending slope of the cordillera; another at Theusaquillo on the site of the present city of Bogotá. The Zipa was carried in a litter, a privilege which he alone enjoyed. On his death the Zipa's body was embalmed and placed in the trunk of a hollowed tree, lined with gold. The secret of the place of sepulture was well kept, and never disclosed to the Spaniards. The bodies of Usaques were buried in vaults, with jewels,

gold ornaments, their arms, and food. From one cemetery gold worth 1000 golden ducats was taken.

The Zaque of Tunja lived in similar state, and had the same despotic powers. It is uncertain how far back the dynasties of the Zipa and Zaque traced their descents. A record of their transactions has only been preserved by the Spaniards for about three generations. But their origin must go far back into remote ages, for some of them have mythical legends attached to their names. Thus one of the ancient Zagues, named Tomagata, is said to have had only one eye, which was made up for by his having four ears, and a tail like that of a jaguar. He lived for more than a hundred years, and was given power by the sun to change himself into a jaguar, a serpent, or a lizard. On his death his subjects passed him up to the starry heavens as a terrifying comet. He was childless, and was succeeded as Zaque by his brother Tutasua. The sovereigns of Tunja were gradually losing territory to the Zipa.

The first Zipa, whose name and deeds have been preserved, was reigning in about 1450. His name was Saguanmachica. The submission of surrounding chiefs was enforced, and six important

Usaques¹ had been subdued shortly before this Zipa's reign began. Saguanmachica appears to have been a brave warrior bent on defending his western frontier from the Panches, and on extending his dominions in other directions. These Panches were very formidable enemies, recklessly brave and constantly on the war-path. The Zipa always kept a strong force on the western frontier to repel the inroads of this formidable enemy.

The arms of the Chibchas were slings, darts, bows and arrows, and for close quarters lances and clubs. The first project of Saguanmachica, after his accession, was to reduce the Sutagaos and their chief, Usathama, to submission. They possessed fertile lands at the foot of the western mountains, known as the valley of Fusagasugá. A chief named Tibacui came to the assistance of his friend Usathama. The Zipa was victorious, and Tibacui, who was wounded, advised the Sutagaos to submit and become subjects of their powerful antagonist.

Saguanmachica then turned his attention to his northern and eastern frontiers, which alarmed Michua, the Zaque of Tunja, who assembled his army and advanced to oppose the aggression.

¹ The chiefs of *Ebaque, Guasca, Guatavita, Zipaquirá, Fusagasuca,* and *Ebate*.

The two armies met at a place called Chocontá, and the battle was fiercely contested. Both the sovereigns were slain, fighting valiantly, and the contending hosts retired to celebrate the obsequies.

Saguanmachica had reigned for twenty years. He was succeeded by his nephew Nemequene. The first act of the new Zipa was to send his heir, Thisquezuzá, to chastise a rebellion of the Sutagaos. With this object the young general made a broad road over the mountains of Subyo, the vestiges of which were to be seen for many years afterwards. The Zipa himself attacked Guatavita, and reduced that important province to final submission. With Guatavita many chiefs of districts who were under its influence also became subjects of the Zipa. The next enterprise of Nemequene was the reduction of Ubaque and the whole of the valley to the eastward of Bogotá,¹ a campaign which occupied him for several months.

Nemequene then assembled his whole force and resolved to march against the Zaque at Tunja, to avenge a quarrel of long standing. The Zaque, strengthened by the adherence of the priestly chief of Suamos and his followers, encamped near Chocontá. It is said that the Zaque proposed to

¹ Caquesa.

settle the dispute by single combat, but that the Usaques, who were with the Zipa, would not consent, considering that it would be beneath the dignity of their sovereign.

The two armies then encountered each other, and there was a well-contested battle, which continued all day. The Zipa was badly wounded and carried off the field by his attendants, and the Zaque gained a victory. But the Chibchas very seldom followed up their successes. The Zipa was carried back in his litter, to his capital at Muequeta, with extraordinary rapidity by relays of new men, but died of his wounds after five days. He was succeeded, as Zipa, by his nephew Thisquezuzá.

The influence of the Iraca, named Nompaneme, secured a peace, or at least a truce of twenty months which might lead to peace, between the Zipa and the Zaque. This was an example of the influence that could be used for good by the official peacemaker and mediator of the Chibcha nation. Quemunchatocha was the last Zaque but one, and the last Zipa but one was Thisquezuzá.

At this time the territory of the Zaque extended to the cordillera overhanging the tropical forests to the east, to Suchica and Tinjacá on the west, to

Turmequé on the south, and on the north to the territory of the valiant chief Tutasua, the last hero of the Chibcha nation. He was practically independent.

The above meagre records are all that have come down to us of the actual historical events in the Chibcha kingdoms. Still, there is a good basis on which to form a conception of the people, their conditions, their aspirations, and their daily life. We see them in a fertile land with a healthy climate, securing the means of subsistence by hard and intelligent labour. We see them, when their wants increased as they advanced in civilisation, establishing markets in the territories of their neighbours and receiving the fruits of other lands in exchange for their own products. We see how their religion combined a worship of the deity, upon whose goodwill their harvests depended, with many imaginative legends. We see with what skill and intelligence their calendar reconciled the lunar with the solar year. We see their loyalty and veneration for their sovereigns, and, in these few records of events, we see them as valiant in arms as they were steadfast and progressive in the arts of peace.

We leave them, in the last days of their existence as a nation, listening to the advice of an

arbitrator and establishing peace within their borders. Even then, though they knew it not, dark threatening clouds were rising up on all sides, and they were to be plunged by the fell destroyers into black despair. Alas! for the brave Chibchas and their dawning civilisation about to be annihilated in flames and blood.

The Chibchas have not been fortunate in the preservation of their story. Castellanos, Simon, Piedrahita have told us something, but posterity might and ought to have received much more. The actual conqueror, Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada, was an educated and accomplished man, and a keen observer. He, it would seem, not only collected information about the conquered people and their history, but wrote it down. He was the author of a work, which must have been valuable and important. It was entitled 'Los tres ratos de Suesca.' The meaning of this curious title is that he wrote his work on the Chibchas during three holidays (*ratos*) passed at his farm of Suesca near Bogotá. He even obtained leave to print it on November 4, 1568. Yet it is not now known to exist, and we have to be satisfied with what less able and less well-informed writers have been able to hand down to us.

CHAPTER VI

SPANIARDS ON THE COAST

THE black clouds were gathering round the doomed Chibcha nation, though still far below their horizon. Even to the people on the coast the first warning was, as it were, a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand. The wonderful apparition scarcely portended what was to come. Two small vessels were seen sailing along the coast. They were wonderful, for such canoes, so large and so high out of the water, had never been seen or heard of. Then strange men came on shore, and bartered with the natives for pearls and gold. In their dealings they were kind and just, and the natives were consequently quite friendly.

This was the small exploring expedition of Rodrigo de Bastidas, a scrivener and a native of Seville, who obtained a licence for his expedition on June 5, 1500. The two small ships left Cadiz in October. The expedition of Alonzo de Ojeda had just returned, having discovered the

coast of what is now Venezuela, a name indeed which Ojeda gave, as far as Cabo de la Vela, the most northern point of South America. Bastidas continued the discovery of the coast thence to the Gulf of Darien, a distance of about 360 miles. In those small ships there was a company of very distinguished men. Bastidas deserves to be remembered for his justice and friendliness to the natives, which eventually cost him his life. His pilot, Juan de la Cosa, the companion of Columbus, was one of the best, and certainly the best known, cartographer of that age. He was a native of Santoña, the 'Gibraltar of the North,'¹ in the Spanish province called the 'Montaña,' and was a man of substance. Last, but not least, one of the greatest of the Spanish discoverers, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, was with Bastidas. He was equally just to the natives, but perhaps more influenced by the dictates of a wise policy than by motives of humanity.

They were in some danger at the 'mouth of a great river, to which the name' of Magdalena was given. This was in March 1501, and the expedition sailed on to Zamba, to the harbour of

¹ Nearly all writers, copying each other, erroneously call Juan de la Cosa a Basque.

Cartagena, to the River Zenu, to the Gulf of Urabá, and as far as Cape Tiburon where the isthmus commences. Thus the whole coast of what is now Colombia was discovered by these two little vessels. If all future expeditions had been conducted like that of Bastidas, there would be a very different story to tell.

No doubt there were other visitors to the coast who behaved very differently. One Christoval Guerra was there, and carried off a number of natives to slavery, thus altering their feelings for strangers.

Treated with kindness and justice, the natives did not show themselves to be fierce and warlike. But when robbery and outrage were attempted, they soon taught the invaders that they had no timid and submissive victims, like the natives of Hayti, to deal with.

Some years passed away before another black cloud lowered over the natives of the coast. In 1508 concessions were made for the settlement of the Spanish main. Alonzo de Ojeda was appointed Governor of the country from Cabo de la Vela to the Gulf of Urabá. He had been a companion of Columbus in his second voyage, and he had commanded an expedition of his own, when he

discovered the coast of Venezuela. Recklessly brave, Ojeda had no other qualities fitting him for command. He was not an organiser, was hasty and imprudent, cruel and unjust to the natives. He had with him his old shipmate, the great cartographer, Juan de la Cosa. His government received the name of New Andalusia. Another adventurer, Diego Nicuesa, a well-to-do planter in San Domingo, was, at the same time, appointed Governor of the coast of the isthmus from the Gulf of Uraba to Cape Gracias a Dios, his government being named Castilla del Oro. There was a delay of two years in Spain and at San Domingo. Ojeda was very jealous of Nicuesa, because his wealth attracted better men to his standard. It ended in a quarrel. Ojeda hurried his departure and refused to be on good terms with his colleague. In January 1510 Ojeda sailed from San Domingo, intending to build the first fort and found his first town at Calamar (Cartagena).

Ojeda arrived and disembarked his men, with the intention of treating the natives as slaves, their lives and property to be used as he pleased. He seized seventy natives, and burnt eight because they defended their houses. The rest retreated, and the Spaniards followed them as far as a place

called Turbaco, where they were reinforced and made a desperate stand. There was a fierce and stubborn battle. The natives all joined in the defence of their homes. Women fought by the sides of their husbands, girls by the sides of their brothers. The Spaniards had found their match. They were entirely defeated with a loss of seventy men. Juan de la Cosa was among the dead. Ojeda fled into the forest, and eventually reached the beach, where he was luckily seen from the ship and taken on board, half dead from fatigue and exposure.

poison

A few days afterwards Nicuesa arrived with his squadron. Ojeda did not like to go on board his colleague's ship, not knowing what reception he would have after his conduct at San Domingo. But Nicuesa, when he heard of the disaster, at once sent to offer help. A combined force was landed and marched to Turbaco, taking the people by surprise. There was a massacre of men, women, and children. The expedition then went on to the Gulf of Urabá, where the two leaders parted company. Nicuesa proceeded to his government of Castilla de Oro, on the shores of the isthmus, where, after much suffering and many disasters, he at last abandoned hope. He returned to Urabá,

and embarking in a crazy boat for San Domingo was lost at sea.

Ojeda built a stockaded fort on the west side of the Gulf of Urabá, and about thirty huts for his people, calling the place San Sebastian de Urabá. Ojeda was a type of the worst kind of Spanish 'Conquistador.' Absolutely without fear either of immediate danger or of consequences, he was rash, imprudent, and improvident; and he treated the natives with horrible cruelty, looking upon them as slaves only fit for outrage, robbery, and ill-treatment. At Urabá he found his match again, for the natives were equally brave, and though not so well armed, still well able to defend their homes and retaliate in kind.

Ojeda's first proceeding was to make an incursion in order to obtain supplies by robbing the natives, with every sort of cruelty and outrage. These raids were continued until a chief, named Tiripi, gathered his forces together and disputed the advance of the marauders. There was a battle, in which the Spaniards were defeated and fled back to their fort, with their commander wounded by an arrow. There was serious loss, the fort was invested, and the Spaniards who had taken refuge there feared to come out. Soon they were threatened

with famine. They still had two small vessels. Ojeda determined to go in one of them to San Domingo for help. The rest were to follow if he did not return in fifty days. He was shipwrecked on the coast of Cuba, and after much suffering and the lapse of several months, he reached San Domingo and died there.

Ojeda, as a young man, was remarkable for his skill in all martial exercises and for his reckless daring. He was alike cool in moments of danger and absolutely without fear. But he was undisciplined, impatient of any control, and unjust. His bad qualities increased with age, and his misfortunes were due to his own misconduct.

The miserable remnant of Ojeda's men was left in charge of Francisco Pizarro, the future Marquis and destroyer of Inca civilisation. The fifty days expired, and they got on board the remaining vessel, which was scarcely seaworthy, to make their way to San Domingo.

Near Cartagena they met two vessels under the command of the Bachiller Martin Fernandez de Enciso, who was on his way to Urabá with reinforcements and supplies. In spite of their entreaties he obliged the miserable remnant of Ojeda's expedition to turn back with him. He wanted

them for guides. On Enciso's arrival at Cartagena a remarkable thing happened. When the natives found that Ojeda was not in command, and that no robbery or kidnapping was intended, they willingly brought supplies and became friendly. Enciso next touched at the Zenu River, where his avarice was aroused at the sight of gold brought to barter, and he departed from the wise policy he had adopted at Cartagena. He attacked the village and committed outrages in searching for the riches which he failed to discover.

On entering the Gulf of Urabá a great disaster befell the expedition. The largest ship was wrecked and everything was lost, arms, ammunition, stores, provisions, and live stock. The native chiefs had ordered the fort to be razed to the ground. They were completely victorious, and have maintained their independence to the present day—the Canas and Casimanes.

The Spaniards were reduced to a hundred men and two small vessels. They did not venture to try conclusions with their gallant enemies, but landed on the other side of the gulf, where they succeeded in obtaining some supplies from the natives and about 10,000 *pesos* of gold by barter.

Then a great man rose up, a born leader, wise, prudent, and humane. Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was, I think, the greatest man that the discovery of Spanish America called forth. He took command at Urabá, and sent Enciso back to San Domingo, and to Spain.

The news of gold found in such quantities made a deep impression on the Spanish Government. It was resolved to send out an expedition on a very large scale. Much depended on the commander, and as usual a bad choice was made. Cortes, Nuñez de Balboa, Pizarro, Quesada were not selected by the Spanish Government; they selected themselves, or were appointed, as in the case of Quesada, by local governors who knew their worth. The Home Government only recognised them when they had already won their way to fame. Pedrarias, Nuñez de Vela, Alfonso de Lugo were the sort of men selected by the Home Government, either worthless or incapable or both. In this respect the Spanish Home Government does not stand alone among Home Governments. Very much the contrary.

Pedro Arias Davila, brother of the Count of Puñonrostro, was a colonel of infantry, and had the name of 'El Justador' in his youth from his skill

as a jousting. He was arrogant, jealous, and self-sufficient, and had few qualifications for his new post. He was accompanied among others by Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, the well-known historian; by Martin Fernandez de Enciso, a very eminent geographer; by Pascual de Andagoya, who recorded the history of the expedition;¹ and by other men of mark. The expedition consisted of 1800 men in fifteen ships, and they sailed from Spain on April 10, 1514, arriving at the port of Santa Martha in June, where they remained for some days.

We are mainly concerned with the expedition of Pedrarias in this chapter, because it sailed along our Colombian coast, and because it was honoured by the presence of an eminent geographer *per se*. Its history belongs to that of the isthmus.

The presence of Enciso gives lustre to the expedition. He was a cartographer, a good observer, and he had the gift of lucid description. His latitude of Cabo de la Vela is absolutely correct, and it is from him alone that we have an intelligent description of the coast. In his famous work, the 'Suma de Geografia,' there is a very interesting account of the coast almost amounting to sailing

¹ See my edition of the narrative of *Pascual de Andagoya*, taken from Navarrete's Collection, in the Hakluyt Society's Series.

directions, with latitudes, the distances between anchorages, and other particulars.¹

After leaving Cabo de la Vela he mentions Yaharo, a good port with fertile land on the skirts of the snowy mountains. Among other edible fruits, Enciso here first became acquainted with what we call the alligator (*avocado*) pear. He describes the inside as like butter 'with such a wonderful flavour, and a taste so good and pleasant that it is wonderful.'

He gives the latitude of Santa Martha, and describes it as the best harbour on the coast. The land, he says, is irrigated by hand and by channels, the cereal² and other crops they raise being thus watered. It is an open country with lofty bare mountains beyond, abounding in wild pigs and deer. The people are warlike, and use poisoned arrows. They also grow much cotton and weave cloths. They have a great deal of gold and copper, and have discovered an excellent way of gilding the copper.

Enciso describes a sort of upas-tree with wild poisonous fruit. He says that when a man eats

¹ *La Suma de Geografia del Bachiller Martin Fernandez de Enciso, Alguazil Mayor del Castilla del Oro* (Seville, 1519), eighty leaves. The work of Enciso is extremely rare, and fetches extraordinarily high prices.

one of these apples, maggots breed in his body, and if he rests under the tree his head begins to ache. If he stays long his sight begins to fail, and if he sleeps under it he loses his sight. Enciso adds that he has seen all this and knows by experience.

From Santa Martha the coast turns south for sixty miles, and further on the great River Magdalena enters the sea. Then the coast turns more west to the Port of Zamba in $11^{\circ}30'$ N., the land being flat, in beautiful savannas, and well peopled. Enciso gives useful directions for entering the harbour of Cartagena. He described the people as being well disposed but warlike, using bows and arrows, and the women fight as well as the men. He captured a girl of eighteen, who was particularly warlike. The young lady told him that she had killed eight Spaniards before she was taken. Enciso adds that these people grow maize and make good bread which is very nourishing, and a fermented liquor. Sailing onwards he next mentions a large and good harbour at the mouth of the River Zenu, where they make salt, twenty-five leagues from Cartagena in 9° N. He describes the method of interring the chiefs at Zenu. At this place there was much fine gold, the people

using it for ornaments. They said it came from mountains whence flowed the River Zenu.

Finally, as regards our Colombian coast, the distinguished geographer came to the Gulf of Urabá, fourteen leagues long. Enciso gives a very interesting account of the animals he saw in Darien, especially of the tapirs, jaguars, peccaries, and alligators, and he praises the flesh and eggs of the iguanas as excellent food. Here we must leave our illustrious guide, who describes so well and clearly the whole sea-coast with which this history is concerned.

These visits of Spaniards to the coast, with their attendant robberies and outrages, were the threatening black clouds which hung over the unfortunate natives, and would burst upon them with destructive force when the permanent settlements commenced.

CHAPTER VII

VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA

VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA was born in 1475, and having gone out to the Indies at an early age, he joined the expedition of Bastidas, and thus became acquainted with the Spanish main from Cabo de la Vela to Darien. He also became impressed with the wisdom of Bastidas in treating the natives with fairness and humanity. Of the next eight or nine years of his life nothing is known. It was probably passed at San Domingo. For when Enciso sailed with succour for the starving remnant of Ojeda's expedition in the Gulf of Urabá, Vasco Nuñez was on board one of the ships, headed up in a cask, to escape from his creditors.

We have seen that the expedition of Enciso met the Ojeda remnant at sea in a crazy vessel under the command of Francisco Pizarro, and that he forced the starving people to return, but he brought no help, for he wrecked his largest

ship, with the provisions and stores on board, at the entrance to the Gulf of Urabá. The miserable colony found itself in a worse plight than it was before, for there were many more mouths to feed. Enciso was sent back to San Domingo. They had no use for him. He was an eminent geographer, but no good in an emergency.

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was at once received as leader of the forlorn body of starving men in the Gulf of Darien. Francisco Pizarro, though several years older, at once accepted a subordinate position. No one, indeed, would seek for such a command, except a man who sometimes rises with the occasion, and whose genius tells him that he alone can stem the tide of ruin and despair. Vasco Nuñez was such a man. His first care was to gather together the miserable remnants of the expeditions of Ojeda and Nicuesa. Some were in the so-called town of Santa Maria la Antigua, in the Gulf of Urabá or Darien; others scattered along the coast, or with native chiefs. He brought them all together, nursed the sick, allotted houses and patches for cultivation, and made them all feel that theirs was a born leader of men to rule over them and care for them.

It was necessary to make long excursions in

search of food ; and in all these journeys Vasco Nuñez was not only with his men, but leading them, and pioneering the way through dense forests and fetid swamps. Sometimes he had to take them for a league or more stripped naked, with their clothes on shields on their heads ; then through dense forest, then another morass ; and this for many days, to obtain supplies and induce the natives to trade.

One secret of the success of Vasco Nuñez was his constant care to prevent the natives from being robbed or ill-treated. Excepting some savage tribes to the south, he was successful in drawing them into friendship. They were very friendly when fairly treated, but valiant and indomitable when attacked or attempted to be enslaved. Vasco Nuñez, by his wise policy of conciliation, obtained much information from them. He was welcomed by the chiefs in their houses, and gained influence over them, especially over two powerful rulers in the isthmus named Careta, lord of Coiba, and Comogue. He found them in a beautiful country, clear of forest, except groves of trees near the banks of mountain streams.

There were no villages, each chief having a few houses close together on his land where the

crops were sown: one such settlement inland, and another on the coast. The house of the Comogue chief was 150 feet long by 80 feet broad. Here the chief sat in judgment and settled all disputes. Each principal stated his case and never dared to lie, so that no witnesses were required. The chief then gave his decision and there was an end of the matter. The chief received no rent nor tribute, only personal service. He was feared and loved. He had one wife; only her sons succeeding. The people had maize and bean crops, and also hunted game and fished in the rivers. Their weapons were darts and clubs. Deer and peccaries abounded, the latter in large herds; and among game-birds the curassow,¹ doves, and water-fowl. When there was a great hunt the people lighted fires in the grass, and the deer, half blinded by the smoke, came out within easy range of the stone-tipped darts. The jaguars were numerous and sufficiently dangerous to make it necessary to close the houses against them at night.

Of the religion of the Darien Indians little can be known, for the superstitious Spaniards thought

¹ Turkeys are Mexican birds, not found further south than Guatemala.

that the deities were devils, the priests were wizards, and their prayers were talks with the devil. There is a more authentic account of the customs connected with interments, for Andagoya was present at the ceremonies on the occasion of the death of the chief of Pocorosa.

The body was wrapped in the richest cloths adorned with gold. The relations then suspended it from the roof with cords, and lighted charcoal fires under it. The body melted with the heat, and when it was quite dried, it was suspended in the new chief's palace. During this process the mourners sat round the body, in black mantles, day and night, no one else entering. They had a drum giving out a deep sound, and they struck blows on it from time to time as a sign of mourning. On the anniversary festival the body was burnt to ashes.

Vasco Nuñez obtained much information from the chiefs Comogue and Careta. He heard that most of the gold came from the south, found either in the mountains or by washing the river-sand; and that there was a great chief in those parts, named Davaive or Dobaybe, who bartered for the gold with the tribes that collected it, and had great store, with appliances for smelting.

In his visits to Careta, Vasco Nuñez fell in love with the beautiful daughter of the chief, and maintained an unswerving attachment for her to the day of his death. From a son of the Comogue chief he received the important tidings that at a distance of three days' journey were the shores of another great ocean, which was always smooth and never rough like the Carribean Sea, and that in it there was great store of pearls. Henceforward it was his principal object to discover the Pacific Ocean.

By the same vessel in which Enciso was sent back, Vasco Nuñez wrote entreating the Admiral ¹ to send succour at once, for if it did not come soon it would not be necessary to send it at all. At length two vessels arrived with provisions, and the title of 'Alcalde Mayor' from the *Audiencia* of San Domingo for Vasco Nuñez.

Thus had this gifted man, by an extraordinary combination of qualities—tact and sympathy in dealing with his own countrymen, a policy of humanity and justice in dealing with the natives, prudence, firmness, marvellous energy and perseverance—converted a starving and despairing crowd into a prosperous colony. He now

¹ The son of Columbus.

proceeded to make preparations for his great discovery. But first he wrote a dispatch to the Emperor, dated January 20, 1513, after two years of untiring work in his sovereign's service. It is a document of the deepest interest,¹ explaining all that had been done, furnishing all the information that had been collected, asking for the supply of materials for shipbuilding, for arms and reinforcements, and requesting that he might be appointed Governor of the colony he had created. Vasco Nuñez sent an officer, named Sebastian del Campo, in charge of the dispatch and of 370 *pesos de oro*. This dispatch never appears to have been answered. The only reply was the dispatch of an incompetent malignant old officer to supersede him, undo his excellent work, and kill him.

It was on September 1, 1513, that Vasco Nuñez de Balboa set out from Darien on his memorable expedition. Francisco Pizarro was among his chosen companions. He went by sea to the Port of Coiba where his father-in-law, the chief Careta, had supplied him with guides, warriors,

¹ It has been preserved in the Collections of Navarrete, tom iii., No. 5, p. 375. There is a translation in the Introduction to the narrative of *Pascual de Andagoya*, printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1865.

and provisions. They were led through dense forest, partly along the banks of the Chucunaque River, then up the cordillera until they reached the summit, when the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean burst upon their astonished view. They descended the slopes and reached the shores of the Gulf of San Miguel. Then Vasco Nuñez de Balboa plunged into the sea, waving the banner of Castille above his head. He had discovered the Pacific Ocean, the greatest discovery, and the greatest achievement, at least in its consequences, that was made and done in that age of derring do. For it was due as much to his humane policy as to his courage and resolution; as much to his statesmanship as to his skill as a leader of men.

From that time the mind of Vasco Nuñez was set upon the building of ships to explore the ocean he had discovered, a work of extreme difficulty. He returned to his colony at Santa Maria la Antigua, which consisted of 450 souls, and continued to work with inexhaustible energy. He had fortified the place with double pallisades of strong wood, with clay between, and surrounded them with a deep ditch.

Pedrarias arrived at Santa Maria la Antigua

in the end of June 1514 as Governor, with a great staff of officials, a bishop, and 1200 men. When he sent to apprise the Alcalde Mayor of his arrival, the messenger found Vasco Nuñez, who was never idle, in cotton shirt, loose drawers, and sandals, helping some natives to thatch a house. The new Governor landed on June 30, and immediately appointed Enciso, who was supposed to be his enemy, to take the *residencia* of the Alcalde Mayor. Nothing could be proved against him, but something was pretended, and he was heavily fined and for some time under arrest.

The grand work of the illustrious coloniser was ruthlessly destroyed. Robbery and murder took the place of justice and conciliation. The first act of Pedrarias was to send Juan de Ayora, one of his captains, to build forts in Comogue and Pocorosa. Ayora proceeded to torture and burn the natives for gold, and then sailed away with it. Bartolomé Hurtado, another of the Governor's men, was sent in search of Ayora, devastated the country and brought back many slaves. Then one Gaspar de Morales, the most infamous of the gang, was sent across the isthmus to seek for pearls in some islands off the coast, with eighty men. The chiefs and people were very friendly.

In return he had the chiefs torn to pieces by bloodhounds, killed many men and a hundred women and children, burnt the houses and all the stores of corn, and carried off many of the surviving women. The enraged natives hung upon his rear as he retreated. So he murdered the women one by one, leaving their bodies in the road to check the pursuit. 'He committed greater cruelties than have ever been heard of among Arabs or any other people.' The memory of Francisco Pizarro must bear the infamy of having been second in command in this expedition.

The feelings of Vasco Nuñez may be imagined at witnessing all his wise and good policy destroyed by these atrocities. At last, on October 16, 1515, he wrote to the Emperor Charles V. He said: 'He who would bring the colony back into the condition it once was must neither sleep nor be careless. The natives, formerly like sheep, have become as fierce as lions. Once they came out with presents. Now they go forth to kill. Not a single friendly tribe is left, except Careta who remains neutral.' Vasco Nuñez then gave an accurate summary of the character of Pedrarias. 'He is an honourable person, but very old for this country and ill of a serious disease. He is

excessively impatient and very indifferent to the welfare of his soldiers,¹ yet he never punishes their evil deeds and murders. He is much pleased to see discords between one and another, fostering it by speaking evil to one of the other. In him reigns all the envy and avarice in the world. He encourages tale-bearing, more easily believing evil things than good; and he is without judgment or any genius for government.'

Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was full of zeal and anxiety to get ships afloat on the Pacific Ocean, and to explore the vast unknown region. He sent a friend, Francisco Garavita, to Cuba for materials to build ships and for shipwrights. Garavita returned with what was required. But Pedrarias was furious, declaring that it was done without his sanction. Vasco Nuñez was arrested, and confined in the Governor's own house. Then the good bishop, Dr. Quevedo, who had always been a true friend to Vasco Nuñez, intervened. He explained to the jealous old incapable how much the plans of the great man he was persecuting would redound to his own credit, and at last persuaded him to sanction and assist in the great work. If he would refrain from hindering, it was all that

¹ They were dying like rotten sheep.

was wanted. The bishop so gained upon Pedrarias for the moment, that he actually consented to the betrothal of Vasco Nuñez with his daughter, who was in Spain. It was a mere political arrangement, for the true lover remained staunch in his attachment to the fair daughter of Careta until death.

Thus temporarily freed from obstruction Vasco Nuñez set to work with his never-failing energy and forethought. He first formed a settlement at Acla, a convenient port on the Atlantic side whither the ship from Cuba was brought. The stores and fittings were then landed, and the tremendous problem of conveying all through the dense forests, over the mountains to the Pacific side, and building the ships had to be solved. Vasco Nuñez was the man to do it. The natives believed in him and trusted him. No other man could have done it. The labour was tremendous. Beams, planking, masts, sails, ropes, ironwork, provisions had to be carried over this terrible journey. Vasco Nuñez was fortunate in finding a young comrade inspired with the same lofty aims as himself. His name was Francisco Companon, and his aid was invaluable. He worked himself, encouraged others, helped those

who broke down, and established a half-way house with provisions on the summit of the cordillera. Vasco Nuñez selected the shore of the Rio de la Balsa, on the south side of the Gulf of San Miguel, as the place for building the ships; or at Pegueo on the north side, according to another authority. Many and great difficulties had to be met and overcome. Huts had to be built and the needs of his people attended to, always his first care. There was much trouble with unseasoned timber, and some had to be felled on the spot. At length the ships were completed, and Vasco Nuñez was ready to start. The moment he had longed for was very near.

The news arrived that a new Governor, named Lope de Sosa, was appointed who might stop the expedition. A messenger, named Botello, was sent to Acla, to ascertain the truth.¹ In the same evening Vasco Nuñez had a conversation in his hut with his friend the Licentiate Valderrabano. Their conclusion was that if the new Governor had arrived the expedition should start at once, but that if Pedrarias was still Governor they would wait for some more stores that were due.

¹ Lope de Sosa was on his way, but, unfortunately, he died at Darien.

It was raining, and a rascally sentry had taken shelter under the eaves, and was listening outside the wall of canes. He quite misunderstood what was said, and thought, or pretended to think, there was a plot against Pedrarias, so he went off next day to report it, and get a reward.

The malignant old man was eaten up with jealousy and spite, and resolved to make this an excuse for getting rid of Vasco Nuñez. He had long ago repented of the reconciliation negotiated by the good bishop. He proceeded by sea to Acla, with his officials, and sent a message to Vasco Nuñez requesting him to come to Acla, as he wanted to consult him on business of importance, and to give him his final instructions.

Vasco Nuñez suspected no treachery. A warning was sent by a friend, Hernando de Aguello, but the letter was intercepted. The great administrator had 300 men and four small vessels (called 'bergantins') in the Gulf of San Miguel and could have defied Pedrarias. The pity of it! He had no suspicion. He went with his friend Valderrabano and a few servants. Outside Acla he was met by Pizarro and a guard, who arrested and chained him. He said: 'What is this, Francisco? You were not wont to come out in this fashion to

receive me.'¹ The royal officials came to the illustrious prisoner, and he solemnly declared that the testimony against him was false, and that he was and always had been loyal to the King and to his Governor. No one really doubted it. But Pedrarias ordered the Alcalde Mayor, the Licentiate Espinosa, to condemn Vasco Nuñez and three of his friends to death. Espinosa refused and protested, unless Pedrarias gave the order himself in writing. This was done. Espinosa then declared that the great services of Vasco Nuñez should be considered and that there was the right of appeal. This was refused, and the four prisoners were brought out for execution. Most unluckily the good Bishop Quevedo was not at Acla. When the executioner cried out 'This is the justice of the King and of our Lord Pedrarias on a traitor and usurper,' Vasco Nuñez exclaimed in a loud voice 'It is a lie. It is false. I declare this to God before whom I go, and I would that

¹ Pizarro has only been seen as yet as an incompetent leader of the Ojeda remnant, as a monster of cruelty under Morales, and as a base traitor to his benefactor and friend. He afterwards proved his capacity and indomitable resolution in the discovery and conquest of Peru, but still with the taint of cruelty and treachery upon him. In his last years, he certainly rose to the occasion, and with great power and responsibilities he became another man; but never such as Vasco Nuñez de Balboa.

all the King's subjects were as faithful as I have been.' He was beheaded over the trunk of a tree. Then Valderrabano and Botello met the same fate. The wretched old murderer was close to, gloating over it, with his eye between the canes of a thin wall. It was past sunset. The people came to him and entreated him to spare Aguello, who had tried to send the warning. He replied: 'I would sooner die than spare one of them.'

The miscreant was never punished. The authorities at San Domingo protested against the outrage; but Pedrarias had interest at Court. His wife was a niece of the Countess of Amoyo, a powerful lady; so the crime was condoned, and the subsequent *residencia* of Pedrarias was a farce.

The death of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was one of the greatest calamities that could have happened to South America at that time. He had collected his little fleet in the Gulf of San Miguel, and was about to sail into the unknown ocean which he had discovered. The conquest of Peru would have been a very different story from that which is interwoven with the ill-omened name of Pizarro. For Vasco Nuñez was a very different man. He had the true genius of a statesman and a warrior, was as humane and judicious as he was firm of purpose

and indomitable of will. His death took place in 1517, aged forty-two.

The rest of the story is sad enough. Pedrarias and his followers thought of nothing but seizing the natives to sell as slaves. Those who resisted were mutilated or burnt. The Spanish camp was disorganised and dissolute. Pedrarias himself was an inveterate gambler. His captains followed his example. They gambled for slaves. All the good work of Vasco Nuñez was undone. 'In a short time neither chiefs nor Indians were to be found in all the land,' says an actor in these scenes of horror.

Pedrarias crossed the isthmus in 1519, embarked with his followers in the ships of Vasco Nuñez, and sailed along the coast to Taboga, eventually founding the city of Panama in 1519. All the inhabitants of Santa Maria in the Gulf of Urabá were forced to remove to the new settlement. There was great loss and a frightful expenditure of human life, through mismanagement and incapacity. In the end of 1519, Diego Alvites, a more humane man than any of the other followers of Pedrarias, founded Nombre de Dios on the opposite side of the isthmus. The site was so unhealthy that the town was abandoned and a settlement

was formed further west, in the time of Philip II, and called Porto Bello, a mule track being made thence to Panama.

An expedition was dispatched from Panama under Hernando de Cordova, who discovered and conquered Nicaragua, founding the city of Leon as its capital. Pedrarias followed him to Leon, and beheaded this subordinate, the discoverer of Nicaragua, of whom he had become jealous. At last a new governor was sent to Panama, in the person of Pedro de los Rios, in 1526. Pedrarias remained in Nicaragua, and died at Leon in 1530.

Panama, in future years, was ruled by an Audiencia, or High Court with the President in charge of the executive government.

The survivors of the natives of the isthmus retreated further south into Darien, and, with great bravery and determination, have retained their independence down to the present day.

CHAPTER VIII

SETTLEMENTS ON THE COAST

LIKE the discovery of the coast, the first settlement was made by the same humane and good man Rodrigo de Bastidas. He was settled in San Domingo and fitted out his expedition there. The Spanish Government had conceded to him the right to build a fort and form a settlement on any part of the coast between Cabo de la Vela and the mouths of the Magdalena River. He left San Domingo with four vessels in July 1525, and sailed across to the Spanish main, anchoring off ~~Santa Marta~~ and landing there. He continued his wise policy of treating the natives with kindness and justice, and succeeded in making friendly treaties with tribes called Gairas, Tagangus, and Dorsinos. His own men were cutting wood to build houses at the new settlement, but Bastidas would not allow the natives to be forced to work. Bastidas also obtained a considerable amount of gold which he refused to distribute until the

expenses connected with fitting out the expedition had been repaid. These things caused great discontent, as the natives had always hitherto been treated as slaves.

A plot was formed to murder the Governor, at a time when he was confined to his bed with a fever. The ringleader was the lieutenant of Bastidas, named Juan de Villafuerte. The villains broke into his room, stabbed him in several places, and left him for dead. But he was still alive and, calling out for help, one of his captains, named Rodrigo Palomino, came to his assistance. The other settlers were indignant, and the murderers had to take refuge in the surrounding forests. Most of them were eventually captured and sent to San Domingo where they met with the fate they deserved. The unfortunate Governor appointed Palomino as his successor, and proceeded to San Domingo to be cured of his wounds. They got worse during the voyage, and Bastidas died on his arrival at Cuba, the victim of his own humanity and love of justice. His memory deserves to be preserved, for it is the fashion to denounce all the Spanish 'Conquistadores' as cruel and ruthless oppressors. This was not so. Much of what was done was due to the age, and not to anything

specially bad in the Spanish character. There were revolting barbarities, and the thirst for gold seemed to turn men into fiends. But there were some 'Conquistadores,' indeed not a few, who belonged to the type of the good and true knight, Rodrigo de Bastidas.

Rodrigo Palomino, the successor of Bastidas as Governor of Santa Martha, was a bold and resourceful captain, but if he ever treated the natives with any forbearance it was from policy and not from any higher motive. His plan was to behave fairly well to the tribes in the immediate neighbourhood, in order that they might continue to bring in provisions, and to plunder and enslave those at a distance. He was a good leader, and the wild spirits he was associated with became attached to him.

In pursuance of his policy Palomino made raids into the countries of the more distant tribes, despoiling them of all their property and taking many to be sold as slaves at San Domingo. Meanwhile Santa Martha was frequented by vessels, supplies of all kinds arrived, houses were built, and the place began to assume the appearance of a town; while corn and seeds of vegetables were sown in the adjacent lands.

But the neighbourhood began to be exhausted of supplies, and Palomino felt obliged to undertake a more distant foray. He invaded the rugged mountains of Bonda to the south, a country so wild and difficult that horses could not be taken. Here the brave defenders of their homes had an advantage. They knew the country and could oppose the advance of their enemies at every turn, and select their own position for resistance. The Spaniards were defeated and fled back to Santa Martha, followed into the plain by the victorious mountaineers.

On hearing of the death of Bastidas, the Royal Audience¹ of San Domingo appointed Pedro Vadillo to succeed him as Governor of Santa Martha. His lieutenant was Pedro de Heredia, and he took with him a force of 200 men. But Palomino refused to give up charge or to let Vadillo land, maintaining that he, as lieutenant to Bastidas, was his legitimate successor. Vadillo then landed further up the coast, and began to construct a fort, which Palomino intended to attack. A priest intervened, and it was agreed that Palomino and Vadillo should be joint Governors until a decision arrived from the Court of Spain. The two

¹ High Court of Justice with some executive powers.

marauders continued their attacks on the natives. Their first combined raid was on a well-peopled slope of the mountains near the source of the Cienaga, inhabited by a branch of the Tairona tribe. The Spaniards were repulsed with loss. Next they set out to pillage a populous country up the coast, called La Ramada. The people had been most hospitable to the Spaniards and had given them gold without payment. Vadillo marched with 300 foot and seventy horse, arriving unopposed. Palomino followed with an escort, but in crossing a river his horse slipped and fell. Palomino was carried down by the current and his body was never found. Having devastated La Ramada, Vadillo went on to the valley of Upar, converting a fertile land and happy people into desolation and mourning. The same fate befell the dwellers in the valley of Eupari. Returning to Santa Martha he began to imprison, torture, and kill the followers of Palomino. His conduct became known, and it was resolved to supersede him. Garcia de Lerma was selected as the new Governor of Santa Martha, and he sent an officer, the Factor Grajeda, in advance, to examine into Vadillo's conduct. This judge lost no time. As soon as he arrived he imprisoned the disgraced

Governor and began to torture him. This was stopped on the arrival of Garcia de Lerma, and Vadillo was sent to be tried in Spain. But his ship was wrecked, and the cruel wretch was drowned.

The new Governor improved the state of affairs, built houses and a church, and a masonry house for himself. He caused several raids to be made into the mountains in search of provisions and gold. But his chief service was the dispatch of expeditions to explore the Magdalena. He employed a Portuguese, named Melo, who went as far as Malambo, and on his return submitted a plan for further exploration, but he died. Another party, with boats, got up the river as far as the junction with the Cauca, and then went up the Cauca for some distance. But they suffered so much from insects and the heat that they returned to Santa Martha in 1532. They found that Lerma was dead, and the Oidor Infante was in temporary charge. *Repartimientos* of natives had been granted to various adventurers whose only thought was plunder, and every sort of outrage was being committed, totally regardless of the humane orders and instructions of the Spanish Government. Thus a settlement was established at Santa Martha,

such as it was, whence the chief danger to the Chibchas was fated to come.

Pedro de Heredia, who had served under Vadillo at Santa Martha, had returned to Spain and obtained a concession on the coast from the mouth of the Magdalena to the Gulf of Uraba. Heredia was a native of Madrid, and had led a wild life in his youth. He got his nose slit by some roysterers in a street brawl, and the revenge he took being of a decidedly illegal character, he fled to San Domingo where he inherited an estate from a relative, and on his return to Spain his escapades were forgotten, and he found no hindrance in fitting out his expedition. He appointed Francisco Cesar, an able colleague, as his lieutenant, and was well supplied with implements, tools, arms and ammunition, clothing, and provisions. Leaving Cadiz in 1532, and touching at Puerto Rico, he obtained many recruits at San Domingo as an addition to his original 150 men, and forty-seven horses, of which twenty-five died on the voyage. His goal was the harbour of Cartagena, so named by Bastidas, where he arrived on January 14, 1533. This was the second settlement established on the coast. Heredia landed with fifty foot and twenty

horse, and he was accompanied by a native of Zamba, named Catalina, a girl who had been carried off to San Domingo, where she learnt Spanish, so that she could act as an interpreter. A place called Calamar was selected for the site of the city of Cartagena. Regidores or magistrates were appointed, and a municipality was established. Heredia made peace with the neighbouring chiefs, so as to secure supplies for the new city. At this period, whether from policy or any better motive, he was humane and conciliatory to the natives. In his very first expedition he came back to Cartagena with gold amounting to 1,500,000 ducats, including a figure of massive gold, found in a temple, which weighed five *arrobas*. He had reached the famous cemeteries of Zenu.

Cartagena progressed rapidly, and in January 1534 Heredia set out on another expedition in search of gold, with his brother Alonso. His lieutenant Cesar also made an important discovery by crossing the mountains of Abibe and entering the Cauca valley, where he found the people numerous, clothed, and in good houses.

There was much discontent among the Spaniards, as time went on, from the belief that the Governor

had concealed a great deal of gold, and when the Oidor Vadillo arrived to examine into the state of affairs, Heredia and his brother were thrown into prison. They were sent to Spain in 1538, where they were exonerated from all blame, and the Governor Pedro de Heredia returned to Cartagena again with full powers.

The two settlements of Santa Martha and Cartagena were firmly established on the coast, creating a terrible though unknown danger to the Chibchas from the north. Another danger was also threatening them on their eastern side.

The Velzers, merchant princes of Augsburg, made a contract with the Government of Charles V to conquer and make settlements in Venezuela. A German, named Alfinger, was selected by the Velzers as Governor of the new colony, and he proceeded to Maracaibo in the end of 1530 with a suitable force. The western limit of his jurisdiction was the Cabo de la Vela. He found that the neighbourhood of Coro was too barren to sustain a permanent colony, so he set out on an expedition to the westward in search of more fertile lands. His party consisted of about 200 Spaniards and hundreds of native porters. These natives were chained together in a long line, each man having

a ring round his neck attached to the chain. When one of the unfortunate prisoners was too ill or too exhausted to go on, a servant of Alfinger, to save time in unfastening, cut the poor creature's head off, and so let his body drop out.

This horrible incident leads to the conclusion that the cruelties belonged to a cruel age, and not specially to the Spanish character. For this leader was a German. The Spaniards were often very cruel in their eager thirst of gold, burning and torturing the natives. They perpetrated these atrocities when excited by a violent though base passion. But for cold-blooded callous brutality there is nothing equal to Alfinger's method of clearing his chain.

Alfinger reached the Magdalena by following down the River Cesar to its confluence, and succeeded in collecting 60,000 *pesos* of gold. Ascending the Sierra de Cachirí, many Spaniards without warm clothing and 300 naked porters died of the cold. The natives made constant attacks, and one is glad to know that in one of the encounters Alfinger's servant, who cut off the heads, met with his deserts. Soon afterwards Alfinger himself was wounded in the throat and died after three days. The retreat was most disastrous; many died of hunger,

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others were reduced to eating the flesh of the native porters. The remnant reached the banks of a river which they could not cross. Seeing some canoes coming down with provisions, they made piteous signs for help. The natives in the canoes, moved by compassion, came to them and gave them food. The wretches stabbed the man who was landing provisions for them, and seized the canoe. After three years the survivors reached Coro.

The next German Governor of Venezuela was George of Spires, who expected to find populous cities and fertile cultivated lands in the dense forest of the Amazonian basin. He set out from Coro with 300 foot and 100 horse, and after waiting several months for the inundations to subside, he directed his march to the south. In the second rainy season he was encamped on the banks of the Opia. The lofty mountains, the land of the Chibchas, were in sight to the westward, but luckily the idea of George of Spires was to find a new Peru to the south, so this danger was averted. They pushed onwards, suffering terribly from hardships of every kind until August 1536, when they thought they had got definite news of a rich country to the south. It was quite illusory, and at length,

decimated by fevers, attacks of natives and of jaguars, the intrepid German explorer resolved to return, reaching Coro in May, 1538. George of Spires was an upright honourable knight, and he died while still Governor of Venezuela in 1545. 13

Another German, named Federman, who was lieutenant to George of Spires, was equipped to undertake another expedition. He was a brave and expert commander beloved by his men, and humane in his treatment of the natives. He set out with about 200 men, reached the river Meta, and eventually approached the land of the Chibchas from the east.

The Chibcha people were in complete ignorance of the dangers which were gradually surrounding them. There was great danger in the formation of the settlements at Santa Martha and Cartagena, from the certainty that, sooner or later, the ruthless invaders would extend their incursions further to the south. There was danger from the colony of the Velzers to the east. Clouds also were gathering to the west and to the south. But the final doom came upon them as a bolt from the blue.

CHAPTER IX

DARK CLOUDS GATHERING TO THE SOUTH AND WEST

THE doom of the Chibcha civilisation was closing round the unfortunate people. We have seen the two threatening settlements formed on the northern coast whence the crushing blow was to come. We have seen how the Spaniards, led by the Velzer Germans, had actually been in sight of the Chibcha mountains to the east. Black clouds were also gathering fast to the south and west. The story of the discovery of the Cauca valley and the loftier plateaux near its sources is rather complicated, and it will be well to tell it briefly in this place, though it overlaps and goes beyond the period of the Chibcha conquest or, rather, cataclysm.

We must picture to ourselves a very muddy road near a village on the borders of Estremadura and Andalusia in the south of Spain, where an ill-conditioned young ruffian is brutally maltreating a donkey, which could not get as fast as the savage

lad wanted through the deep mire of a country lane. He ended by killing the poor beast. This is the type of a 'Conquistador,' cruel, pitiless, much enduring, and capable. The future 'Conquistador' was afraid to go home after what he had done. For it was the family donkey, and his father was a very poor peasant. He ran away to Seville. At that time Pedrarias was preparing his great expedition to the isthmus. The young ruffian offered himself as a soldier, a likely looking lad enough so far as personal strength was concerned. When asked for an account of himself he only knew his Christian name, which was Sebastian,¹ and that he came from a village called Belalcazar. So they enlisted him, gave him the name of Sebastian de Belalcazar, and he sailed for the New World.

Young Sebastian displayed remarkable sagacity in getting Pedrarias out of a serious difficulty on an occasion when he was lost in the Darien forests. From that time his fortune was made. Pedrarias gave him a command in an expedition to Nicaragua, and he took part in the founding of Leon. He joined the expedition of Pizarro to Peru, who left him in command at San Miguel de Piura. His

¹ His father's name is believed to have been Moyano.

next service was the conquest of Quito, undertaken under orders from Pizarro and ably carried out with 140 well armed men. He remained there for some time as Pizarro's lieutenant. But his ambition was great. He was incapable of gratitude or fidelity, and he conceived the idea of carving out a dominion for himself. Resolving upon an advance to the north, he sent some of his captains before him. In 1536 he discovered the plateaux of Pasto and Popayán. The natives defended their country with desperation; horrible cruelties were perpetrated on them, and at last their resistance was crushed. Many fled to the mountains, and vast tracts of land were left uncultivated. The city of Popayán was founded by Sebastian de Belalcazar in 1536, in an excellent and healthy situation on a high tableland. From this centre the invader made incursions in various directions. In his raid to the north-east, along the head waters of the Magdalena, he was in sight of Suma Paz, the lofty mountains south of Bogotá. He also extended his devastating incursions down the valley of the Cauca, and founded the city of Cali. The natives fought desperately, and they refused to sow their crops, so that famine ensued and vast tracts of once cultivated land remained

waste. The native populations of the localities conquered by this ruthless invader were nearly exterminated. Satisfied with his work, Sebastian de Belalcazar set out for Spain in 1539, with the object of obtaining a concession of Popayán and the valley of the Cauca, as a Governor independent of Pizarro.

After his conquests Sebastian de Belalcazar ceased to correspond with or acknowledge his chief to whom he owed his position—a debt of gratitude he entirely ignored. Pizarro sent an officer he could thoroughly trust, named Lorenzo de Aldana, to arrest the recalcitrant Belalcazar and assume command. Aldana was a knight of the highest character, and one of the few who, like Bastidas, never allowed the natives to be treated with cruelty or injustice. He marched from Quito to Popayán, founding the city of Pasto on his way. At Popayán he found that Belalcazar had departed, and that the Spanish inhabitants were threatened with famine. He therefore hurried down the Cauca valley as far as Cali, and with difficulty made arrangements for supplies of provisions to be sent to Popayán.

It is now necessary to turn our attention to the proceedings on the coast, for it was from there

that the whole length of the Cauca valley was discovered.

It will be remembered that the *Juez de Residencia* Vadillo came out to Cartagena to examine the accounts and proceedings of the Governor Heredia, that he threw him into prison, sent him to Spain for trial, and seized his treasure. Vadillo's robberies and conduct generally were so outrageous that the Licentiate Santa Cruz was sent out as *Juez de Residencia* to examine into his conduct. On hearing this Vadillo's guilty conscience filled him with apprehension for his own safety. He was a man of considerable energy and ability, and he determined to leave Cartagena, organise an expedition, and undertake some great discovery. He persuaded Heredia's lieutenant, Francisco Cesar, a splendid explorer and efficient officer, to go with him.¹ There was also with him a most intelligent young lad, a native of Llerena in Estremadura, named Pedro de Cieza de Leon. He was only nineteen, yet, while diligently attending to his duties as a soldier, he used

¹ He had been with Sebastian Cabot in his voyage to the River Plate, and joined Heredia at Puerto Rico. He had already headed an expedition which crossed the Abibe Mountains, and reached the valley ruled by the chief Nutibara, taking 40,000 ducats' worth of gold from the tombs.

his spare time in recording the events of the expedition.¹

Vadillo started from San Sebastian de Uraba in 1538 with all the force he could get together and some horses, and, under the guidance of Cesar, they proceeded to scale the Abibe Mountains. These heights were covered with dense forest, the only paths being in the tortuous beds of mountain torrents. It was difficult enough for the men to make their way up the mountains and down the steep declivities on the other side, and almost impossible for horses. At length they reached a vast extent of fertile country governed by a warlike chief named Nutibara.

Cesar was not without experience of this brave defender of the homes of his people. During his former raid the army of Nutibara, under the military direction of his brother Quinunchu, encountered the Spaniards and there was an obstinate battle. The chief was present in person, carried on a litter richly inlaid with gold. The Spaniards were hard pressed, and would have been defeated if it had not been for the death of the opposing general. The natives then retreated. There was

¹ See my translation of the travels of Pedro de Cieza de Leon contained in the first part of his *Chronicle of Peru* (Anvers, 1554), printed for the Hakluyt Society in 1864.

a very pathetic scene. The great chief, Nutibara, always reverently carried in a litter, sprang out of it and caused his brother's body to be put there in his place. The retreating host marched in a long line over the hills, and Nutibara was seen for miles, running by the side of the litter, mourning for his beloved friend and brother.

When Vadillo reached the territory of Nutibara in the following year, the subjects of that great chief were equally hostile. Nutibara constructed a fortress on a height unapproachable by cavalry. The Spaniards assaulted the place. They were not only repulsed, but entirely defeated and put to flight. If it had not been for the skill and valour of Cesar in defending a narrow place with a rear guard, there would have been a fatal disaster.

Nutibara was victorious, and Vadillo continued his march without again venturing to attack him. The next valley they reached was called Nori, where the natives defended their homes with the same valour and persistence. The chief, however, named Nabuco, to get rid of the invaders, presented them with some gold, and assured them that they would find much more in the next province to the south, called Buriticá. The march was through dense forest, and on reaching the place it was

found that the people were entrenched on an almost inaccessible height which was promptly assaulted and carried, the Buriticá chief and his family being found there with some gold ornaments. The chief would not disclose the sources of his wealth, so the savage Vadillo burnt him alive. He had nobly surrendered himself as ransom for a young wife who had been captured, and his cruel death horrified even the hardened followers of the fugitive *Juez de Residencia*.

Vadillo soon afterwards reached the banks of the great River Cauca. His followers were threatened with hunger in their painful struggle through the dense forest; but at length they reached a well-cultivated valley, called Iraca. The inhabitants fled to the mountains; but abundant supplies were found, and the explorers rested, as many were sick and unable to march. When they again proceeded up the Cauca valley they were constantly harassed by the natives. Reaching a place called Cori, it was there that the gallant Cesar, worn out with fatigue and illness, departed this life. 'Cesar certainly showed himself to be worthy of so great a name.' This is a grand epitaph, written by a comrade in arms. The men of Vadillo's expedition were in despair at the loss of so able a leader in

whom they placed all their confidence. They clamoured to be allowed to return, dreading the dangers of an advance without a competent leader. Vadillo was furious, and refused to listen for a moment. He was a fugitive from justice, and knew that only a prison awaited him on his return. Unwillingly, the sorely tried men continued their march until at length they arrived at Cali, where Belalcazar had formed a settlement and founded a town. They were reduced to half their number and the survivors mutinied, positively refusing any longer to follow Vadillo. He went on, almost alone, to Popayán. There the Governor, Aldana, sent him by Quito to the Port of Payta, whence he returned to Spain. His lawsuit lasted for his lifetime. He died in poverty at Seville before it was concluded.

Vadillo had made a very important discovery. The valley of the Cauca is 420 miles long, containing many rich and fertile districts, and the best gold-mines in the whole region. Aldana saw its importance, and resolved to send an expedition down the valley to form settlements and occupy the country. He selected for this duty an officer named Jorge Robledo, who had been a follower of Belalcazar. Aldana impressed upon him the duty of treating the natives with kindness

and justice, and dismissed him with a well-equipped force to occupy the extensive region discovered by Vadillo. Meanwhile, Vadillo's *Juez de Residencia*—the Licentiate Santa Cruz—had arrived at Cartagena, and immediately sent two officers up the Cauca valley with a small force to arrest the fugitive from justice. They were too late; but they joined Robledo's party, as did the survivors of Vadillo's expedition.

Robledo founded Anzerma, and in the end of 1539 he fought a desperate battle with the tribe of Pozos. He was victorious, and perpetrated the most atrocious cruelties on the vanquished, massacring women and children and burning their houses, in total disregard of the humane instructions of Aldana. These tribes of the Cauca valley were tenacious defenders of their homes and very war-like. On very important occasions they had a custom of eating their prisoners. This cannot be doubted when so reliable an authority as Cieza de Leon was an eyewitness. They also adorned the outsides of their houses with the heads of their enemies. But they consisted of tall, well-developed, brave men and fair women, who were cultivators, miners, and weavers. With proper treatment they might easily have been civilised.

Early in 1540, Robledo founded Cartago, giving the name in honour of those followers who came from Cartagena. He also founded Anzerma and Arma. In 1541, he was in the fertile vale of Aburra where he found abundant supplies; and towards the end of that year he founded the city of Antioquia in the district of the Buriticá gold-mines, forming a mining establishment on the river flowing from the Buriticá Hill. Robledo here conceived the idea of going to Spain with a report of his services, and obtaining a concession as Governor of a province to be carved out of the territories of Heredia and Belalcazar, whose boundaries were very uncertain. He crossed the Abibe Mountains, almost alone and without a guide, and arrived, starving and almost naked, at San Sebastian de Uraba. Instead of being treated hospitably, he was thrown into prison and eventually sent to Spain under arrest.

The ruthless Sebastian de Belalcazar had been very successful in his negotiations at the Court of Spain. He obtained the rank of Adelantado, and the government of the province of Popayán and of the whole valley of the Cauca. When this news reached Popayán, Lorenzo de Aldana retired to Quito. That excellent governor after-

wards took an important part in the affairs of Peru. One of the most just and most humane of the Spanish 'Conquistadores,' Aldana's name deserves to be honoured by posterity. By his will he left all his fortune to the Indians of his *encomienda* for the payment of their tribute.

In the end of 1537, Pascual de Andagoya—who had served on the isthmus with Pedrarias, but was then in Spain—received a concession as Governor of the country bordering on the Pacific, from the Gulf of San Miguel to the River of San Juan. Leaving Toledo in 1538, Andagoya enlisted sixty men, and left San Lucar with them early in 1539. At Panama he increased his numbers to 200, and sailed for his government, with three ships and two brigantines, February 15. Andagoya discovered the port of Buenaventura, and the town was founded, under his direction, by Juan Ladrillo. He then began to cross the forest-covered mountains with the greater part of his force, leaving fifty men with his ships. The natives were at first inclined to be hostile, but as Andagoya treated them with kindness and allowed no robbery, they soon became friendly. It was a very rugged country through which he had to make his way, but he at length reached Cali. He proceeded thence to

Popayán and assumed the government. He was undoubtedly beyond his jurisdiction, and within that of Belalcazar; but the state of the country fully justified the course he took.

After the departure of Aldana, a young knight, named Pedro de Añasco, had advanced to the eastward, with a Captain Osorio as his companion, and had founded the town of Timaná at the sources of the Magdalena River. They had with them fifty Spaniards and some horses. They were closely besieged by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, and sent to Captain Juan de Ampudia, who was in charge of Popayán, for help. That officer assembled sixty men and marched to raise the siege of Timaná; but Osorio and Añasco had managed to get out, and were making their way down the River Paez when they were attacked by the Indians and killed with all their followers. Ampudia was encountered by the Indian besiegers. He routed them three times on three successive days; but on the fourth he was killed, his men were almost all slain with him, and the victorious Indians advanced on Popayán.¹

This was the state of affairs when Andagoya

¹ See my translation of the narrative of Pascual de Andagoya, written by himself (Hakluyt Society, 1865).

arrived at Popayán. The Indians were repulsed, and order was restored in the immediate neighbourhood. In his narrative, Andagoya gives an interesting account of the country and people round Popayán. He treated the natives with kindness and induced many to be baptized.

Meanwhile, Sebastian de Belalcazar left Spain to take up the command of the vast territory that had been conceded to him. He went by Panama to Buenaventura, and, arriving at Popayán, he arrested Andagoya and sent him as a prisoner to Spain.¹

The position of Popayán near the northern frontier of Peru brought Belalcazar into contact with the disturbances among the conquerors of that country. When Vaca de Castro arrived at Popayán on his way to examine into the conduct of affairs by the Marquis Pizarro, Belalcazar escorted him to Quito and thence to Piura. When the unfortunate Viceroy Blasco Nunez de Vela was hunted by Gonzalo Pizarro, he took refuge at Popayán, and Belalcazar marched with him to

¹ Pascual de Andagoya was an able, upright, and humane man. Herrera was violently prejudiced against him, and his remarks are untrue and unjust where Andagoya is concerned. After his return to Spain he made the acquaintance of the President, La Gasca, went out with him to Peru, and commanded a battalion of infantry at Sacsahuana. He died at Cuzco on June 15, 1548.

Quito to attack his enemies. They were defeated at the battle of Añaquito, the Viceroy being killed and Belalcazar wounded. Gonzalo Pizarro allowed the latter to return to his government at Popayán. Again, when the President, La Gasca, was marching against Gonzalo Pizarro, he called upon Belalcazar for help, who complied, and was in command of the cavalry at Sacsahuana, returning to Popayán.

Belalcazar was masterful in his claims, and soon disputes arose respecting boundaries between the Governor of Popayán and Pedro de Heredia, the Governor of Cartagena. The bone of contention was the city of Antioquia, founded by Robledo. Heredia proceeded to the place and took possession. Belalcazar sent Juan Cabrera, who surprised Heredia, and sent him a prisoner to Popayán, but Belalcazar allowed him to return to Cartagena by way of Panama. In 1544 both Santa Martha and Cartagena were sacked by French pirates. After that disaster Heredia again marched to occupy Antioquia, the site of which had been altered by Cabrera. Alonso Heredia, the brother of the Governor, had founded the town of Mompox, at an important point near the junction of the Magdalena and Cauca, in 1540.

When Heredia returned to Cartagena, he

found that a new *Juez de Residencia* had arrived in the person of Miguel Diaz de Armendariz, who brought with him the new laws, sending a copy to Belalcazar.

Although Jorge Robledo was sent to Spain as a prisoner, he managed to make interest at Court, received the rank of Marshal, and a concession of territory between the grants of Heredia and Belalcazar. This was very vague. It is deplorable to note the reckless way in which these concessions were granted, in total ignorance of the country that was being cut into overlapping slices. Much of the trouble in the colonies arose from these disputed frontiers. The new Marshal collected a small force, was joined by some former comrades, including Cieza de Leon, and reached Antioquia. He then advanced up the Cauca valley with about seventy men. The towns of Anzerma and Cartago refused to receive him. But he pushed on to Pozo and formed a camp there. Belalcazar was at Cali. He made a forced march with 150 men, and surprised Robledo's camp on the night of October 1, 1546. The Marshal could have escaped, but he preferred to surrender to his old chief, not dreaming of the consequences.

We are now reminded of the brutal young

ruffian in the miry lane in Estremadura. Belalcazar must have had some personal grudge against the unfortunate Robledo. He broke out into violent abuse and declared he would kill him by strangling. Robledo entreated that at least he might be beheaded, as became his rank, but this was refused. He was hanged on October 5, with five of his officers. The bodies were buried in a hut which was set on fire, and Belalcazar returned to Cali. It was believed that the Indians of Pozo dug up the bodies and ate them.

Even then the Nemesis was approaching. The *Juez de Residencia*, Briceño, was on his way to Popayán. It is surprising what implicit obedience was paid to these functionaries even by the most turbulent and masterful pro-consuls. Briceño condemned the powerful Governor of Popayán to death for the murder of Robledo. Soon afterwards the judge married Doña Maria de Carbajal, Robledo's widow, and was therefore accused of partiality. Yet the sentence was as just as it was bold. Belalcazar appealed to the higher court in Spain, and sorrowfully set out on his long journey. He arrived at Cartagena, where he was hospitably treated by Heredia, and there he died in 1550.

There can be no question of the remarkable ability, prowess, and strength of character possessed by Sebastian de Belalcazar. There must, too, have been some good in him, for he was popular and had many followers who were devoted to him. But the boy was father to the man. Beginning with the crime in the miry lane near home, he ended with the crime at Pozo which concluded his career. His savage cruelty to the natives, while foolish as a question of policy, was evidence of a hard and callous nature.

Heredia began a voyage to Spain in 1554, but never arrived, for the ship in which he had embarked was wrecked at sea. He had been Governor of Cartagena for twenty years.

The events related in this chapter overlap the Chibcha cataclysm by several years. Still, the arrival of Belalcazar at Popayán and the discovery of the Cauca valley are about contemporary. With their frequent markets, and commercial intercourse with neighbouring tribes, the Chibchas had probably heard rumours about the ruthless strangers gathering, like threatening clouds, on their southern and on their western horizons.

*Story of discovery of
the Cauca valley by Belalcazar*

CHAPTER X

GONZALO JIMENES DE QUESADA—CONQUEROR OF THE KINGDOM OF NEW GRANADA

GONZALO JIMENES DE QUESADA was the destined destroyer of Chibcha civilisation, and his attempt to record its history is lost to us. His family seems to have come from Baeza in Andalusia, in the days when Moors and Christians were still at war. But young Gonzalo himself was born at Cordova, in the ward of Our Lady of the Holy Fountain, being the son of the Licentiate, Gonzalo Jirmenes, and of Dona Isabel de Quesada. The date of the child's birth must have nearly coincided with that of the taking of Granada. When he was quite a little boy his parents removed to Granada, where his father was an advocate in the law courts; so that all his reminiscences in after life were connected with the Moorish city and its beautiful Vega. He was educated with great care under his father's supervision, studied law, and, like his father, he became an advocate in the High Court

of Justice at Granada. He was practising in that Court when he received the appointment which took him to the New World, and led to his future career.

The Adelantado, Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, had, by marriage, become hereditary Governor of the Canary Islands. It so happened that one of the soldiers of Bastidas came to the Canaries, and painted the riches and other advantages of Santa Martha in glowing colours. The news of the death of Garcia de Lerma, the Governor, had also come.¹ So the Adelantado resolved to send his son, Luis Alonso de Lugo, to Spain to apply for a concession of the government of Santa Martha. Accordingly, in February 1535, a royal order nominated Pedro Fernandez de Lugo to be Governor and Captain-General of the province of Santa Martha, with succession to his son. The River Magdalena was to be the boundary between Cartagena and Santa Martha. The greater part of the year 1535 was occupied in fitting out the expedition at Santa Cruz de Teneriffe. The Adelantado's son was appointed his lieutenant, and the appointment of chief magistrate was offered to and accepted by the young barrister at Granada,

¹ See p. 85.

Gonzalo Jimenes de Quesada. His age was then thirty-six. More than a thousand men were enlisted and went on board the ships of the Adelantado, and the expedition left Santa Cruz de Teneriffe on November 3, 1535, and anchored off Santa Martha in the middle of December, after a voyage of forty days.

Santa Martha, in those days, was a sorry abode to come to, after the charming homes at Laguna and Orotava. The hereditary Governor of the Canary Islands had made a poor exchange. There were some thatched houses, one of stone, and a wretched church, but not sufficient accommodation for half Lugo's followers. The greater part of the force had to live in tents, provisions were scarce, and there was a general feeling of depression. Then an epidemic of dysentery broke out. The Adelantado visited the sick, and gave up all his own stores for them, living on the same rations as the men.

In order that those in good health might be employed, and to collect provisions and, if possible, gold to pay the freight of the ships, an expedition was undertaken in the direction of Bonda, led by Don Pedro Lugo himself and guided by some officers of experience. The natives had chosen a

strong position and gallantly defended it, and when it was carried with serious loss to the invaders the defenders took up another equally strong position higher up the mountain side. Nothing was found in their village. The Adelantado returned to Santa Martha with the wounded, ordering his son to continue the march along the coast, while Captain Suarez was to take a parallel route in the mountains. Suarez met with desperate resistance, and was obliged to come down to the plain country with thirty-eight wounded, and join Don Luis de Lugo. The two raiders succeeded in storming a stronghold in the mountains of Tairona, after a stubborn resistance, and secured gold ornaments to the value of 15,000 *castellanos de oro*. Other finds of gold were made, and Luis de Lugo's duty was to return with it for his father to pay the freight of the ships, and to distribute the rest amongst his followers, reserving the royal fifth. But the infamous thief was tired of such hard work. He signalled to a passing ship, and went on board with all the gold, intending to steal it and to return to Spain, leaving his father in the greatest difficulty and embarrassment. A vessel was sent in pursuit, with an officer who represented the theft in Spain. Luis de Lugo was imprisoned; but his impudent assurance

and lies, coupled with interest at Court, secured his release after a short time.

The Adelantado was not only left in great difficulties, but he was borne down by grief at the infamy of his son and the disgrace brought upon his name. It was felt, by himself and his officers, that a great expedition of discovery must be equipped to employ the men, and, after careful consideration, it was decided that the exploration of the course and origin of the great River Magdalena should be undertaken on an adequate scale, in the expectation that rich and fertile provinces would be discovered.

Everything depended on the choice of the right man to command the expedition. There were a number of captains all with equal claims, or at least they thought so. To appoint any one of them would be sure to cause jealousy and ill-feeling among the rest, and the probable consequence would be failure. Some qualities were needed which are not the exclusive property of soldiers. Don Pedro de Lugo had seen such qualities in the chief magistrate during a very trying time. He nominated Gonzalo Jimenes de Quesada to be his lieutenant-general and commander over the 800 men—horse, foot, and flotilla

—composing the expedition. It was no drawback, rather the reverse, that he should be an accomplished man of letters, and an experienced lawyer, if he also had fortitude, resource, endurance, resolution, and the gift of imbuing those under him with his own spirit. Lugo believed that he had seen these qualifications in Quesada, and he proved to be right. The appointment was made April 1, 1536.¹

The expedition started on April 6, 1536, consisting of 600 soldiers in eight companies and 100 horses,² accompanied by a flotilla of five large boats to ascend the Magdalena, manned by 200 soldiers and sailors. There were seven principal captains with the land force—Juan de Junco (who was to succeed if anything happened to Quesada), Gonzalo Suarez Rondon, Antonio Lebrija, and Juan de San Martin (whose narratives have been preserved),³ Cespedes, Valenzuela, and Lazaro Fonte. In the boats were Captains

¹ Fray Pedro Simon gives the text of the appointment with the date 1537. The question is discussed by Colonel Acosta, who shows that Castellanos, Herrera, and Piedrahita all give 1536 as the date. The subsequent discovery of Quesada's own narrative settles the question.

² Quesada's own narrative. Other authorities give the numbers differently.

³ In the collection of Muñoz.

Urbina, Cordova, Manjarres, Chamarro, and Ortun Velasquez.

The Rio Grande, or Magdalena, had already been ascended as far as a place called Sampollon, 150 miles from the mouth, on the right bank; and rumours had been received of the existence of a rich and powerful kingdom in the interior. But the settlers at Santa Martha and Cartagena had feared the dangers and hardships involved in the further ascent of the river. Quesada, in his narrative, says that those of Santa Martha were content with robbing and desolating the small but rich province of La Ramada (which was much nearer), without regard for the public good, but only for their own interests; while those of Cartagena rested satisfied with the gold in the cemeteries of Zenu. The great discovery was left to the accomplished lawyer of Granada, who now showed that he was also an able and resolute leader of men.

We have the advantage of Quesada's brief narrative¹ for the proceedings of the invaders, which affords landmarks, though it is only a summary of the events. The soldiers were divided

¹ Printed by Marcos Jimenes de la Espada, in his critical review of Castellanos (Madrid, 1889), from the *Archivo Historico*. Herrera had it, and used it without giving the author, as was his custom.

into eight companies, and each man carried his spare clothes and rations on his back. They were to advance through an unknown country to the confluence of the Cesari with the Magdalena. The flotilla consisted of three large and two small boats, to be propelled by oars and by towing along the bank when possible. They were to make their way from Santa Martha to the mouth of the Magdalena, and ascend that river to the confluence of the Cesari, where they were to meet Quesada and the land force.

Quesada took his leave of the unhappy Adelantado, Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, who had organised the expedition, on April 6, 1536. Broken down by difficulties and disappointments, and by grief at the perfidy and villainy of his son, the Adelantado died at Santa Martha in the following October.

The march was difficult, over a wild uninhabited country, in the Sierra de Chimiles. Provisions were beginning to run short when the invaders entered a valley where the people were reaping their harvest of maize. They were all made prisoners and forced to carry their corn into the enemy's camp. The forlorn natives had put down their loads and were standing disconsolate,

as prisoners awaiting their fate. Suddenly a woman, in floods of tears, rushed into the camp and embraced a boy who was one of the prisoners. She had come to give herself up, in order that she might share the fate of her beloved son. Quesada was much moved at the sight. He at once gave the woman and her son their liberty. Soon afterwards he released all the rest, except one who was kept as a guide.

The invaders next came to the River Ariguani, which could not be forded. The men and horses swam, and a line was got across by which the stores and provisions were brought over. Twelve days were occupied in the march thence to the lagoons of Tamalameque. The Cacique's residence consisted of a number of thatched houses built round an open space, at the end of a long peninsula called Pacabuy. The houses, embosomed in trees, seen across the deep blue waters of the lagoon, were a grateful sight after the wearisome marches through the forest. Here the tired soldiers rested for a few days, and Tamalameque helped Quesada in his final march to the confluence of the Cesari and Magdalena. The flotilla had not arrived. Quesada had lost 100 men, and there were many sick. Tired of waiting for the boats,

he moved up the river to a place called Sampollon ✓ on the right bank, not far from the site of the city of Mompox on the opposite side, which was founded four years afterwards.

The flotilla had met with disaster. Leaving Santa Martha; the boats made their way to the mouths of the Magdalena. One was wrecked in an attempt to enter the river; only the two smallest got through and reached Malambo near the mouth. The two others went on to Cartagena where the crews deserted. Manjarres, one of the captains, made his way back to Santa Martha and reported the disaster. There were three old boats there, of good size, which were fitted out and dispatched. They succeeded in entering one of the mouths of the Magdalena and joined the two smaller ones at Malambo. The flotilla then proceeded up the river, often harassed by the natives, who assembled round them in canoes and annoyed them with poisoned arrows. At length, after many weeks of anxious waiting, Quesada welcomed their arrival at Sampollon. The sick were at once put on board.¹

¹ The names of the captains of these boats are uncertain. None of those given by Quesada himself are the same as those recorded by other authorities.

Quesada resolved to continue the advance up the Magdalena, the bulk of the troops forcing their way through the dense forest on its banks, and the flotilla keeping company on the river. It is probable that a great part of the route on land had never before been traversed by mortal man, for the natives passed in canoes. Every foot of the way had to be cut and cleared with wood-knives. To the misery of incessant rains were added the torment of mosquitoes, ants, and hornets, and the danger from snakes and wild beasts. The nights were more perilous than the days. One soldier was taken out of his hammock by a jaguar. His cries awoke his comrades who rescued him. On the next night he slung his hammock much higher up. Still the jaguar got at him and dragged him out. His comrades were snoring so loudly that his cries were not heard, and the wretched man was carried off. Many died in the forest. There were long delays in crossing rivers, although help was given by the crews of the boats. Trees had to be felled and rough bridges made.

When they reached a place where the River Opon joins the Magdalena, called La Tora, it was a month since they had seen a single native or a sign of cultivation. The alligators had become

so bold, and had carried off so many men, that the survivors did not dare to go near the edge, and they got their water by fastening the pot to the end of a long pole.¹ It was eight months since they left Santa Martha. To continue such marches was felt to be quite beyond human endurance. A hundred men had fallen by the way.

The feeling of the captains, as well as of the men, was that it was absolutely necessary to return to Santa Martha if anyone was to survive. The oldest and most experienced officers were San Martin and Cespedes. They were deputed to represent the feeling of the rest to the General, which they did.

Quesada replied that a retreat would be much more fatal than an advance, for there was not room for the soldiers in the boats, and they would again have to struggle through the dense forest. He reminded them that the good Adelantado had expended all his fortune in fitting out the expedition. He declared that he would not abandon the enterprise while his life was spared, and that he would, in future, hold him as an enemy who should

¹ Since those days a great trade has sprung up in alligator skins on the Magdalena. After 1901, when it began, the annual export has been 30,000 skins.

propose a course so pusillanimous and so contrary to Castillian valour.

✓ The captains submitted without another word to the resolution of a lawyer who carried arms for the first time in his life. The boldest course was adopted.

The mountains whence the Opon River flowed were in sight to the east, and Quesada was inclined to leave the river, with its terrible forests, and attempt the ascent. He first sent Captain San Martin with twelve men in three small canoes up the River Opon to reconnoitre. On the second day, in a turn of the river, they suddenly came upon a canoe with two natives, who jumped out and swam to the shore. The canoe was captured. Some finely woven mantles were found in it, and some white salt very different from that made from the sea-salt. Next, San Martin came to a hut containing more salt. This was one of the depôts for the trade in the salt of Zipaquirá.¹ San Martin made an excursion inland, saw cultivated tracts, and had an encounter with the natives, making one prisoner. He then returned full of hope that a rich and fertile land would be discovered, and made his report to the General.

¹ See Chap. I., p. 17.

Quesada reflected that all the salt he had hitherto seen in use by the natives was poor granular sea-salt. But the salt found by San Martin was quite different: in loaves like sugar-loaves, and very fine. It was clear that they had different origins. If one came from the sea he argued that the other came from a land beyond the mountains, and he thought, from the form of the salt and its evident commercial value, that it must be a rich and important land. He therefore resolved to ascend the mountains, following the ravine down which the river flowed. The flotilla was to go down the Magdalena with the sick, and bring back reinforcements to fill the places of the numerous unfortunate men who had succumbed in the forests. One, Gallegos, was in command of the boats, and received strict orders not to molest the natives, but to take the sick down the river as quickly as possible. Instead of this he made attacks on villages near the banks, killing and plundering, until at last the natives combined against him. Three of the boats full of sick were sunk, and only one escaped with Gallegos; badly wounded. This is an instance of the difficulties surrounding an able general with such men to deal with. The moment his back is turned there is disaster caused

by truculence or incapacity; and disobedience. Quesada had given strict orders about the just treatment of the natives, and was stern in enforcing them. He even caused a soldier to be executed for robbery, although the chaplain and the captains, who did not see much harm in it, interceded for him.

Quesada commenced the ascent of the mountains with 200 of the best men he could select, and 60 surviving horses. The difficulties were great, and people have since wondered how horses could possibly have been got up those rocky heights and almost perpendicular precipices. He only lost one in the ascent. The cold became intense; and the men were quite unprepared for it; while the rains made it impossible to light a fire, and they had to live on raw maize. Twenty died, and one went out of his mind. At length they reached the summit of the Opon Mountains, fully 6500 feet above the level of the sea. With almost delirious joy they saw stretched out before them a vast cultivated plain: groves of fruit-trees, lakes and murmuring streams, with villages and towers scattered here and there. It seemed to them like a land of enchantment covered with fairy castles. Quesada called it '*el valle de alcazares*'—'the valley

of palaces.' The surviving invaders numbered 166, with 59 horses. It was joy to the Spaniards, but death and destruction to the ill-fated Chibcha nation. Dark clouds had long been threatening round their horizon. Their doom had now appeared on the summit of that Mount of Opon.

CHAPTER XI

BURSTING OF THE STORM

THE Chibcha nation was at peace. There was a truce between the two sovereigns. A strong force guarded the western frontier. The fields, with their growing crops, stretched for leagues around the Zipa's capital. The villagers were all at work, happy and contented. The lofty houses of the Usaques, scattered here and there, rising out of clumps of trees, enlivened the landscape. Over the mountains trains of laden wayfarers might be seen passing to and fro, frequenters of the distant markets. From the salt-mines of Nemocon and Zipaquirá, down the Opon River to the market on the Magdalena, there was a ceaseless flow of commerce. Cotton, gold, and tropical fruits came in return, coca and wood for lances came from the eastern forests, while the products of the Chibcha pottery factories and cloth industries went down in exchange. A busy hive of industry: all

seemed happiness and prosperity, with nothing to mar its continuance.

The Zipa in his palace at Muequeta under the hills, with bright lagoons around it, was the centre of all this well-being, revered and almost worshipped by his subjects,¹ and surrounded by faithful warriors and councillors. Fair women, too, good to look upon, as Quesada bore witness, enlivened his Court, and added a charm to the palace whose walls their industry had beautified. It seemed that nothing more was wanted to fill the cup of happiness. Yet there was a vague feeling of dread, no one knew why. Rumours had come from east and west, from south and even from the north. The handwriting was already on the wall.

Thisquezuzza, the gallant Zipa, was in council, surrounded by his advisers, in the great hall of the Muequeta palace. Suddenly a breathless messenger rushed into the presence. He came from the loyal chief of Suesca. Strange men had come down from the mountains, as if from the sun and moon—‘Suchies’ they were called. They were accompanied by still stranger animals, causing terror in all who beheld them. They were not numerous but their

¹ ‘Es grandissima la reverencia que tienen los subditos a sus caciques.’—Quesada.

arms were irresistible, the animals terrible to behold. They had overawed the chief of Guachetá and were now directing their march to the salt-mine of Nemocon. The terrified people were bringing in provisions to propitiate them.

The news was appalling, yet there was a feeling of relief at first, when actual tidings arrived, however bad, to relieve the tension caused by unsubstantial rumours. Now there could be action. The valour of Thisquezuzza had been proven in many an encounter, both in the time of his uncle and during his own reign. He resolved to meet these terrible invaders in person. Six hundred of the best and bravest of his warriors were carefully selected. The mummy of the Zipa's predecessor, the glorious Nemequene, as was the strange custom of the Chibchas, was borne in front of the little army to arouse the enthusiasm of the warriors. The Zipa himself was carried in the royal litter, ready to rush out and fight when the moment arrived. On the second day he came in sight of the invaders and gazed upon them, with their strange arms and attire, and their terrifying animals. Quesada, with the main body, had already passed on, and the Chibchas made a gallant attack on the rear-guard. They were gaining ground, led on by the

Zipa, when they were surprised in flank and rear by the Spanish cavalry. There was a fearful slaughter, the sacred mummy was overthrown and trampled in the dust, and the survivors fled in all directions. The Zipa returned to Muequeta, plunged into deep despondency. He was convinced that the invaders were irresistible, and that his country was doomed. He resolved upon flight, and to delay the arrival of the enemy as long as possible by negotiating and sending presents.

Quesada had advanced to the hill of Chia in the plain of Bogotá, the residence of the heir apparent, who fled, after concealing his treasure, which was never found. The Zipa sent the invader presents of venison and game, and messages were exchanged with reference to a personal interview. Meanwhile, there were hurried preparations at Muequeta. There was no alternative. The ancestral home, the centre and capital of the Chibcha civilisation, must be abandoned, and safety must be sought in flight to some secret retreat—a secret which the Zipa knew that his faithful people would keep. Thence he might direct operations and await events.

The Spaniards were eager to reach the Zipa's capital, expecting to find great stores of the gold,

for which they thirsted. Quesada, therefore, set out from Chia ; but in crossing the River Funza he met with opposition from the loyal troops of the Zipa. Their devoted loyalty quite overcame the too natural terror which paralysed the action of most of the Chibcha people. The Spaniards forced their way onwards and reached the palace of Muequeta, but found it deserted and dismantled. A party was sent in search of the Zipa to the country palace of Tinansuga, but he was not there. The headquarters of the Spaniards were established for some time at Muequeta, where they were subjected to incessant attacks from the Zipa's troops, who easily evaded the cavalry charges by retiring among the impassable lagoons.

Quesada's plans were frustrated and the Spanish absorbing thirst for gold was unsatisfied for a time. ✓
The general resolved to send out two exploring expeditions to the south and west under the command of his veteran captains, Cespedes and San Martin. The party of Cespedes went southward, and suffered so terribly from the cold on the lofty tableland in the direction of Suma Paz that the attempt to penetrate farther was abandoned. ✓
San Martin entered the country of the valiant Panches, on the lower slopes towards the Magdalena.

Their villages were perched on inaccessible ridges of the mountains, and the warriors were called to arms by the blowing of horns from peak to peak. Their army was soon assembled, and the Spaniards met with such a reception that San Martin made a rapid strategical movement to the rear. He received some reinforcements from the General, and sought the aid of the Zipa's frontier force, which was conceded. The Chibchas of the frontier force were called *Guechas*, a word which means a general or leader of an army. Here it is used to describe a force of specially selected warriors.

The valley of Fusagasugá is the last within Chibcha territory. The combined force crossed the hills which separate it from the rugged descending slopes of Pati and Apulo. The Panches gathered together to the sound of their horns, and formed in disciplined troops, with coronets of brilliant plumes on their heads, and armed with clubs, lances, and bows with poisoned arrows. No impression could be made on their serried ranks by the combined force of Spaniards and Guechas. If, after fighting with desperate valour, they fell back, they left neither wounded nor prisoners in the hands of their enemies. The Spaniards also

retreated, repulsed and beaten. San Martin returned to headquarters. Both the expeditions sent out by Quesada had failed; he gained nothing by seizing the Zipa's palace, and his soldiers were discontented, and clamouring for gold.

A report had been received that the emeralds came from mountains to the north-east, so Quesada led his followers in that direction, marching by Guatavita to Chocontá, the limit of the Zipa's dominions. Captain Valenzuela, with a small force, was then sent on to the emerald mine at Samondoco, which he reached. But he found that the mine was only worked in the rainy season owing to the scarcity of water at other times for washing the earth. He, however, obtained a few emeralds with which he returned to the main body at Turmeque within the Zaque's territory. An advance was made to Lengupa, the last Chibcha village to the east. Beyond was the illimitable Amazonian forest, reaching to the horizon—a magnificent view, so striking that San Martin was sent with a small party to explore. But his orders obliged him to return before he could reach the level forest. Quesada was now in the territory of the Zaque of Tunja, and the thirsters for gold thought by a rapid march they might take the

Zaque completely by surprise, and seize all the treasure before any of it could be concealed.

Quemuchatocha, the reigning Zaque of Tunja, was an old man, revered by his subjects and renowned for his justice and valour. He had heard of the march of these terrible invaders, and of the awful charges of cavalry, and he felt that his country was doomed. Conciliation offered the only hope, and that a faint one, of humane treatment. He was fearless and resigned to the fate decreed by the gods.

When the dreaded enemy was seen to be approaching rapidly, the Zaque sent presents and requested the Spaniards to wait outside until he had prepared for their reception. The Spaniards pushed the messengers aside without stopping. Quesada and his men forced their way through a terrified crowd and broke into the palace. Then, with drawn sword, and followed by his officers, he entered the great hall of audience. The venerable Zaque was seated on his throne like an old Roman senator, with his chiefs around him. He was tall, very old, and of fierce aspect. He showed neither fear nor anxiety. To eager questions about treasure he maintained a profound and majestic silence. He merely said: 'My body is in your

hands. Dispose of it as you please. But my will no one shall command.' Quesada was firm on this occasion and would not allow the Zaque to be tortured or treated with violence. He was imprisoned, but his women and servants were allowed to attend upon him with the reverence to which he had been accustomed.

The pillage then began, and was continued throughout the night—a colossal burglary. The loot, forming an immense heap, was placed in the centre of the courtyard of the palace. Much of it consisted of rich cotton cloths, beautiful ornamental matting, and other furniture; but there were also 191,390 *pesos* of fine gold, 37,288 of less pure gold, 18,390 of silver, 1815 emeralds—about £125,000 of our money.

The Zaque died of a broken heart, a few days afterwards, and was succeeded—if not to his sovereignty, at least to the hearts of his people—by a young and popular prince named Aquimin, the last Zaque.

This small increase in the amount of loot to be divided, only whetted the insatiable appetites of the gold-seekers. They had heard of the rich temple of Suamo, and clamoured to be taken there. It was there that the religious chief called Iraca

had his residence. This was an office supposed to have been instituted by the mythical civiliser, Garachacha, and the holder of the office was to be the head of the Chibcha religion, and an arbitrator and peacemaker among chiefs and people. The temple of Suamo was the most sacred place in the country, and the Iraca was held in the deepest veneration.

The vale of the Iraca was about twenty miles north-east of Tunja, a pleasant and fertile spot. As the Spaniards approached, the unfortunate people attempted resistance, but were soon terrified and fled. The despoilers advanced to the temple and broke open the doors. A single old man alone barred the way. This priest stood there dauntless and alone. Behind him the Spaniards could see a long row of mummies adorned with gold plates. Even those ruthless marauders paused in awe before the aged priest. Suddenly flames broke out, and they fell back. The temple was on fire and was burned to the ground. The old priest preferred death in the flames to surrender.¹

¹ The Iraca himself, named Sugamuni, nephew of his predecessor Nompaneme, became a Christian, and survived until about 1560. The Franciscans engraved his epitaph, in the Chibcha language, on a stone: 'The best man in Cundinamarca, the crown and honour of his nation. Friend of the children of the sun, who, in the end, adored the eternal sun. We pray for his soul.'

The gold-seekers were more ruthless than the fire. So perished an institution which gave the Chibchas their highest claim to be considered a civilised community.

Bordering on the valley of the Iraca to the north was the territory of the brave chief, Tutama, who only owned a nominal allegiance to the Zaque. On hearing of the awful sacrilege at Suamo, he called together his warriors, a well disciplined array, and advanced against the enemy. It was in October 1537. The fight, well contested and long doubtful, was near the hills of Duitama. Quesada fell with his horse, and was in some danger. At length Tutama's force retreated in good order to the fastnesses of Bonda, which consisted of morasses with islands rising from them. The fight was known as the battle of Bonda. The Spaniards also retreated and formed a defensive camp at Suesca, under the command of Hernan Perez de Quesada, the General's brother.

Plunder was the main object of the Spanish captains and soldiers. Unsatisfied by the result of their robbery in the Zaque's palace, and foiled at Suamo, they continued to clamour for more gold. There was a rumour that the gold owned by the Chibchas came from the valley of Neyva ;

and they must needs be led in that direction. Quesada conducted his forces across the cordillera, and with great difficulty they made their way to the banks of the Magdalena. But their guides had escaped from them. The inhabitants had crossed to the other side of the river, and the Spaniards began to suffer from fevers and want of provisions. Leaving several comrades who had died of exposure and fever, the rest made their way up the mountain slopes, with their thirst for gold unsatisfied.

Quesada once more fixed his headquarters at Muequeta, the deserted palace of the Zipa, in January 1538; and, in order to give some satisfaction to his avaricious followers, he determined to distribute such treasure as had been collected. For the royal fifth he set aside 40,000 *pesos* of fine gold and 562 emeralds.¹ Each foot-soldier got 520 *pesos*, each cavalry soldier 1040, each officer 2080, seven officers' shares for Quesada himself, and nine for the Adelantado de Lugo.

The Zipa Thisquezuzza had retreated to a secluded forest to the westward,² where he held his

¹ Manuscript reports of the captains, San Martin and Lebrija, quoted by Acosta. Colonel Acosta thinks that vast sums were secreted by Quesada and his officers, and that the real amount was double what was officially stated.

² Near Facatativá.

Court, and whence he directed the operations of his faithful followers. But he seems to have despaired of ultimate success. He and his councillors felt that the gods had passed a doom upon his people from which there could be no escape.

Quesada was long unable to find out whither the Zipa had gone. His subjects preserved the secret, the discovery of which was eagerly desired in the belief that more gold would be found. At last two boys, suspected of coming from the Zipa as messengers, were captured. Both were cruelly tortured. One died rather than divulge the secret. The other succumbed under the excruciating agony and consented to guide the marauders. Quesada set out with a chosen body of men, marching all night. At dawn he surprised the royal camp and broke into it. The Zipa was mortally wounded, but safely carried off by his guards and attendants. After the first panic the Chibchas rallied and fiercely attacked the Spaniards, who retreated hastily, closely followed, their retreat soon being converted into a flight. They had only found two golden drinking-cups, brought there for the Sovereign's own use.

Thisquezuzza died of his wound, and was secretly interred. Thus fell the last reigning

Zaque and the last reigning Zipa. An advancing civilisation was destroyed with them, and their ill-fated subjects saw the last of their days of prosperity and happiness. They passed under the yoke of ruthless and cruel oppressors.

But resistance did not cease with the Zipa's death. It aroused his warriors to renewed efforts. The constitutional heir was the Usaque of Chia, but he had shown pusillanimity and weakness. Another nephew was chosen to succeed Thisquezuzza, a gallant young warrior named Sagipa. He led renewed and incessant attacks on the Spanish camp at Muequeta, until he obliged Quesada to beat a retreat and form another camp at Bosa, where the plain was open and better suited for the operations of cavalry.

The Panches, emboldened by their successful encounters with the Spaniards, began to make destructive raids into the Chibcha country. Then Sagipa made a fatal mistake. He went to the camp at Bosa, with presents of gold and emeralds, and requested the Spaniards to assist him against his enemies the Panches. Quesada and his officers were much struck by the noble bearing of the young Zipa and at once acceded to his request. A few days afterwards a combined army of Chibchas

Not a passive submission
a gallant fight by the

and Spaniards advanced into the country of the Panches—the former under the command of Sagipa, the latter led by Quesada himself. The Panche warriors were ready to dispute the further progress of their foes. It was arranged that the Chibchas should meet the brunt of their attack, while the Spanish cavalry, from an ambush, was to charge their flank. These tactics were carried out with success, and at length the Panches were really defeated. This important encounter was known as the battle of Tocarema.

Then followed one of the most shameful acts in the whole sad story. The Spaniards began to believe that there must be a great Zipa treasure concealed somewhere, and that Sagipa knew the secret. They thought that a ransom might be extorted, like that of Atahualpa. The Spaniards became incarnate fiends—no other words can express the truth—when gold was concerned. Sagipa was their guest and their companion in arms. Their word was given for his safety. Yet, regardless of honour and good faith, the officers petitioned Quesada to imprison him and load him with chains, that he might be forced to deliver up the treasure of the Zipa. Quesada weakly complied. The Chibchas were horrified, for their Sovereign had joined

the Spaniards and entered their camp on promise of safety. Sagipa told Quesada that he had no gold, that the late Zipa certainly had treasure, but that he distributed it all among his chiefs before his flight from Muequeta. This was the simple truth. The Spaniards then began to inflict the most frightful tortures on the unfortunate Zipa, to extort a confession when there was nothing to confess. They kept him alive for many days, but the brave prince uttered not a word. At length he died in excruciating agony. As to the fiends who perpetrated this hideous crime words fail to describe them. Quesada no doubt disapproved, but the mutinous violence of the gold-seekers overawed him, and he weakly allowed the crime to be perpetrated. On him falls the blame. It has left a stain on his memory that nothing can wash out.

Quesada now contemplated the necessity of obtaining reinforcements to complete his work, and he decided that he must himself return to obtain recognition of his services. The great plain of Bogotá reminded him of the Vega of Granada. He there founded a city on August 6, 1538, and named it Santa Fé, after the city built by Ferdinand and Isabella in the Vega. The surrounding heights reminded him of the hills round

the Moorish capital, and he even saw in the hills of Suacho a resemblance to that known as 'El ultimo suspiro del Moro.' Full of these reminiscences of his youth he gave his discoveries the name of New Granada. The new city of Santa Fé de Bogotá was on the site of one of the country houses of the Zipa called Tuesaquillo. A dozen large buildings were erected of sufficient size to house all the Spaniards, and a wooden church on the site of the present cathedral. Municipal officers and magistrates were duly appointed.

In the midst of these proceedings the news arrived that a large body of Spaniards were marching up the valley of Neyva. This proved to be Sebastian de Belalcazar on his way to Spain. Immediately afterwards there arrived a report that another body of Spaniards was coming down from the lofty plateaux of Suma Paz. It was the German Nicolas Federman with his veterans who had traversed the Amazonian forests. It was an extraordinary meeting. The three chiefs, Quesada, Belalcazar, and Fredeman, resolved to return to Spain together. Boats were got ready for them at La Tora on the Magdalena. Before their departure it was resolved to found two other cities. One was to be on the River Suarez at the northern

frontier of the Zaque's dominions, which was to be founded by Captain Martin Galiano, and named Velez in memory of Velez Malaga near Granada. The other city was to be at Tunja, on the site of the Zaque's capital, to be founded by Captain Gonzalo Suarez Rondon who had served in Italy, at the battle of Pavia.

Quesada left his brother, Hernan Perez de Quesada, in charge of the government of this new kingdom of Granada, with the title of lieutenant-general. In May, 1538, the three generals embarked at Guataqui on the Magdalena, arrived safely at its mouth in twelve days, and proceeded to Cartagena, to embark for Spain. Quesada sought for confirmation of his appointment as Governor of his important discoveries, and Belalcazar hoped to receive an independent grant of Popayán and the Cauca valley.

Quesada had arrived in the country of the Chibchas and found wide plains and beautiful valleys thickly peopled by an industrious and intelligent race. He found an advancing civilisation guided by two sovereigns of ancient lineage, with a third sacred personage acting as arbitrator and peacemaker. He found chiefs and people happy and contented. When he departed all was changed.

Summary of the
work

There was confusion and terror, cultivation neglected, some of the people in flight, others forced to work as slaves. He had killed two sovereigns, tortured another to death. Destruction had come upon Chibcha civilisation, and desolation brooded over the once prosperous land. True: but Quesada was taking home a box containing 758 emeralds for the emperor Charles V.

CHAPTER XII

FINAL DESTRUCTION OF THE CHIBCHA NATION

THE country of the Chibchas, on the departure of Gonzalo Jimenes de Quesada, was left at the mercy of his brother, Hernan Perez de Quesada, a very different man. Hernan Perez was callous and inhuman. Bitten by the gold fever as deeply as the most ignorant soldier under his orders, he was as guilty as any of his companions—indeed, more guilty—in connection with the atrocious murder of Sagipa, the last of the Zipas.

The unfortunate country had been divided up into *encomiendas*, or tracts of land, with their inhabitants—probably identical with the old chiefships, or one chiefship may have formed two or more *encomiendas*. These *encomiendas* were granted to the captains under Quesada, and to some of those who had accompanied Belalcazar and Federman, and had remained in New Granada. The grants were for two lives.¹ The inhabitants

¹ See lists in the Appendix.

became the slaves of the *encomenderos*, who demanded tribute from them to an amount it was impossible for them to pay, and used them in any way they pleased—to work in the fields, or for personal service, or as porters forced to carry weights far beyond their strength. It was a grinding and crushing tyranny.

Quesada's lieutenant and brother had first to defend his claims against a formidable competitor. The Licentiate, Jeronimo Lebron, had been appointed Governor of Santa Martha by the *Audiencia* of San Domingo. He considered that the discoveries of Quesada were within his jurisdiction, and he set out, with a well-organised expedition, to take possession. He had seven boats manned by 100 soldiers, and 200 more men were to march by land to the mouth of the Cesari. It was the same plan as that adopted by Quesada. The Licentiate, Lebron, took the first Spanish women to New Granada, and a supply of corn and vegetable seeds. The conduct of the expedition was entrusted to three able and experienced captains. The boats met with great difficulties at the bar of the Magdalena and had to throw some of their cargoes overboard; and the crews suffered from incessant attacks by the natives in canoes while ascending

the river to Sampollon. Higher up there were few incidents, and Lebron, ascending the mountains, arrived at Velez in December 1540, after six months of hard work, and the loss of many of his followers. He was received as Governor by the settlers at Velez.

When Hernan Perez de Quesada heard of this unexpected arrival he sent a messenger to Lebron to warn him that the municipalities of Bogotá and Tunja could not acknowledge that an appointment as Governor of Santa Martha by the *Audiencia* of San Domingo was sufficient authority for superseding the discoverer. Hernan Perez then marched with a force of 200 foot and 100 horse¹ to oppose him. Lebron, reinforced by the settlers at Velez, advanced with an equal force. A battle seemed imminent. But Captain Suarez Rondon intervened, and an interview was arranged. The majority of the settlers were resolved not to receive Lebron lest he should revoke or disturb the grants of *encomiendas*. Seeing this, Lebron wisely decided that his best plan was to retire. He made a small fortune by the sale of horses, slaves, clothing, and arms at exorbitant prices, and embarked at

¹ Some horses had been left by Belalcazar, raising the number from fifty-nine to a hundred.

Guataquí on the Magdalena, with only twenty-five followers. The rest remained. When he reached Santa Martha he heard of the appointment of a new Governor in the person of Luis Alonso de Lugo. So he retired to his house at San Domingo with the small fortune he had made.

His followers increased the Spanish population of New Granada. The women he brought found husbands. His seeds were sown and yielded abundant crops. Captain Jeromino Aguayo reaped the first harvest of wheat, and Elvira Gutierrez, wife of Juan de Montalvo, was the first woman who baked wheaten bread.

Hernan Perez de Quesada, still craving for gold, had the idea of a search for El Dorado put into his head. A young adventurer named Montalvo de Lugo, a relation of the Adelantado, had arrived from Venezuela, and reached Bogotá after having followed the route of Federman through the forests. He certainly had not found El Dorado, but he had theories about the locality and the direction to take. He excited the sordid avarice of Hernan Perez to a high pitch, and the Lieutenant-General resolved to undertake the search with an expedition on a large scale. But he added tenfold

to his crimes, before he started, by committing several cold-blooded murders.

Aquimin, the young Zaque, had succeeded his uncle in little else than the love and devotion of his people. When the Captain Suarez Rondon¹ founded the Spanish city of Tunja, seventy-five miles north-east of Bogotá, he had seized the Zaque's palace and land to divide amongst the new citizens. This was on August 6, 1539. But the young Prince had shown no resentment at this robbery, and no hostility to the Spaniards. He was beloved by the people for his charming manner, his charity and generosity. Hernan Perez resolved to murder Aquimin, the last of the Zagues, and he came to Tunja and had him seized and beheaded. He gave no reason except that it was as well to make all safe while he was away. Even the hardened citizens of Bogotá and Tunja were shocked at this cold-blooded injustice, and when Hernan Perez was struck by lightning some years afterwards it was looked upon as a judgment. Not content with the murder of the Zaque, he also caused to be killed the chiefs of Samaca, Turmequé, Boyaca, and

¹ The name Rondon (a watchman, or one who goes the rounds) is said to have been added to the name of his ancestor by King Alfonso XI, after the taking of Algeiras.

several other principal men of the Chibcha nation. This revolting cruelty causes a feeling of disgust and loathing for the perpetrator. At the time, the people were stunned and horrified at the loss of their leaders. It was a calamity from an historical point of view because the murdered chiefs were those who knew all the traditions of their race. They were the men of learning, who could have handed down the full story of a people, fast advancing in civilisation, to posterity. Now it is nearly all lost to us.

Hernan Perez de Quesada, red-handed with the blood of murdered men, prepared to depart on his absurd search for El Dorado. The captain, Suarez Rondon, was left in charge of the government of the new kingdom of Granada. Hernan Perez took with him 200 Spaniards, some horses, and a number of unfortunate Chibchas as porters. He first marched to the country of the Laches and went thence down into the eastern forests, turning to the south. He followed much the same route as that of George of Spires, suffering the same miseries from insects, rains, the labour of forcing a way through tangled underwood, and famine caused by failure of provisions. Many died; the explorers were reduced to eating the horses. At

last they were obliged to kill and eat a favourite donkey named 'Marubare' on which Father Requejada rode. The poor old donkey was a great traveller, having done much good service at Santa Martha. The famished party, much reduced in numbers, arrived at a place where the cordillera was in sight. They succeeded in reaching it, and at length arrived at Pasto, whence they journeyed on to Bogotá, where Hernan Perez de Quesada met with a reception he little expected. There can be no doubt that the origin of the story about El Dorado was in the custom of gilding the chief at the Lake of Guatavita. This tradition was wildly exaggerated, and the locality was altered to suit the whims and theories of insatiable gold-seekers.

In the unhappy land of the Chibchas the cruel exactions of the Spanish *encomenderos* became more and more intolerable. The chief of Guatavita rose in arms, but his defeat was followed by a horrible massacre. The people began to hide their wives and families among rocks and fastnesses, or on islands in lagoons and morasses. Tundama, the chief of Duitama, was the bravest and most resolute of the Chibcha patriots. Very few leaders or chiefs had survived, and to him alone could his

countrymen look—in him alone was there a vestige ✓ of hope left. The Duitama territory had been granted in *encomienda* to one Baltasar Maldonado.

Tundama fortified an island in the Lake of Bonja, which was connected with the mainland by a narrow causeway. Stakes, sharpened at the ends, were placed across the causeway, and along that side of the island. The other side was believed to be safe, for it was not foreseen that the water would have subsided considerably, making it fordable. The brave chief let Maldonado know that he and his people preferred death to seeing their wives and children torn by bloodhounds, and themselves cruelly tortured when unable to satisfy the insatiable avarice of their oppressors. Tundama did not wait for the enemy to traverse the causeway, but defended the entrance to it, and, after a desperate fight, the Spaniards were defeated and had to retreat. Next day they unfortunately discovered that the lagoon was fordable at the back of the island. Wading across at night, they attacked the patriots in the rear, taking them entirely by surprise, and overpowering them. There was a dreadful massacre, those who were not killed by their enemies being drowned in the lake. A few, including Tundama himself, escaped by swimming.

The brave patriot raised another force of his devoted tribesmen, and continued to harass the invaders. But at last he became despondent. He could see no hope. Collecting all the gold he could get together as tribute, he went to Maldonado and surrendered. The tribute consisted of ornaments and vessels. The ruffian had a hammer in his hand, to smash them flat before weighing. He insisted on more being brought. Tundama said that there was no more. Some words followed, and Maldonado murdered the unarmed chief by a blow on his head with the hammer. Thus perished the brave and valiant patriot, the last hope of the Chibcha nation.

Tundama's heir was his young nephew. The youth was seized, and tortured to divulge the place where there was more gold. There was no such place. He was then stripped naked, loaded with chains, driven through the street of Duitama, and then thrown into prison. He committed suicide, unable to survive such an indignity.

The people were leaderless and crushed. Yet, in their despair, they still resisted. The inhabitants of Tausa, Suta, and Cucunuba secretly took their wives and families, with provisions, to the rock of Tausa. Huge blocks of stone were heaped

on the only path that led to it. On the other sides there were sheer precipices. When the news came to Bogotá, a hundred Spaniards were sent against the fugitives. Great stones were hurled down upon them from above. But the Spaniards were well led. Advancing in single file, with huge wooden shields, they succeeded in reaching a sort of shelf above the position of the Chibchas. Amongst them were arquebusiers; for, though the original supply of powder had run out, saltpetre and other ingredients had been found near Tunja, and a fresh supply had been manufactured. A fire was opened on the women and children, and under its cover the rest of the Spaniards dashed down among them, to slaughter without mercy. The despairing Indians succeeded in hurling some of the Spaniards over the tremendous precipice. One young captain, who had come with Federman, named Olalla, was so treated. He would have been dashed to pieces if his fall had not been broken by trees and underwood. He escaped by a miracle, with only a broken leg and his face cut by his own sword. The place was known as 'The leap of Olalla.' Indescribable horrors followed. There was a hideous massacre, and many threw themselves over the precipice to escape the Spanish knives.

Again there was desolation and despair, crowds of turkey-buzzards and other birds of prey gorging themselves on the heaps of corpses.

In another part of this unhappy land the people of Simigaca took refuge among some lofty rocks surrounded at their bases by dense underwood. In the first attack the Spaniards were defeated, but in the end the catastrophe of Tausa was repeated. The poor Chibchas were without their natural leaders. Their chiefs had all been murdered. Yet they made several desperate attempts to obtain better terms. They fell at last, but they did not fall ingloriously. In the end of 1541 the people of Ocavita and Subachoque rose. The veteran Captain Cespedes was sent against Ocavita and was twice defeated. Subachoque was attacked by Captain Juan Pineda, but the inhabitants defended themselves with such courage and skill that he was forced to retreat. Captain Suarez Rondon then came in person with his whole force; yet treachery and not valour won the day. One Alonso Martin sent to the leader of the Ocavitas, earnestly requesting him to grant an interview and arrange terms, promising to come alone to meet him. The chief came out, trusting to the officer's word. Meanwhile a strong force of soldiers

had crept up among the bushes, and, as the conference began, they rushed into the stronghold and threw off the mask. After this the Chibchas seem to have submitted, sinking into slavery and black despair.

The phase of Spanish character shown in such a lurid light during the course of their conquests in South America was not, it should be admitted, inherent in them as a race. It is to be attributed to the age. The most cold-blooded act of cruelty in the whole record was due to the German, Alfinger. We should remember the number of humane soldiers and statesmen among these conquerors of South America. We have already had to consider the humanity and benevolence of Rodrigo de Bastidas, of Lorenzo de Aldana, of Pascual de Andagoya, of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, of Heredia, and of Cieza de Leon. Not a few more names can be added to the honourable list. That of Serra de Leguisano should always be remembered. These never swerved from the advocacy of humane treatment of the natives. There were others who, although not without feelings of humanity, were mainly influenced by considerations of policy, seeing the stupidity and waste caused by a course of cruelty and oppression. They sometimes weakly yielded to the violent

pressure of their followers. In this category must be placed Gonzalo Jimenes de Quesada, the discoverer of New Granada.

After his departure there was a carnival of cruelty in New Granada until all the wealth had passed into the hands of the invaders. The next bloodsucker would have to bleed the Spaniards, for the unhappy Chibchas were already sucked dry. He was on his way.

CHAPTER XIII

QUESADA DEPRIVED OF HIS JUST RIGHTS BY COURT FAVOUR

GONZALO JIMENES DE QUESADA, the discoverer of the kingdom of New Granada, a precious jewel in the crown of Spain, arrived at Seville in October, 1539. He submitted a report entitled '*Epitome de la conquista del nuevo reino de Granada.*' It mainly consists of a description of the country, its inhabitants, and resources.¹ He also brought with him, as the royal fifths, a box containing 567 ✓ emeralds and 11,000 *pesos* of pure gold. The emeralds, arranged in sizes, were in eight paper parcels. An order came from the Court that they were to be sent at once to Madrid. Quesada's first thought was to see his parents and the beautiful home in the Vega of Granada once more. He then went to Court to ask for the government of the ✓

¹ It was sent to the Council of the Indies, and came into the hands of the Cosmographer, remaining in his department. It is now in the *Archivo Historico*. It was printed by Jimenes de la Espada, in his pamphlet on Castellanos, in 1889.

country he had discovered. He found that an underhand attack was organised against him by the spread of slanders and false statements. It was said that he was so unmannerly as to appear in a coloured dress when the Court was in mourning for the Empress;¹ that he had improperly kept back for himself much of the gold and emeralds; that he had been found illegally playing at dice in a hostelry; and other such rumours were spread by an enemy who soon came out into the open.

At that time the Licentiate Gonzalo Jimenes de Quesada was a man of forty, rather bald, but with a fine presence and courteous bearing. Though fond of the society of ladies he was rather careless of the conventionalities of the Court, being conscious of his own merits. But it must be remembered that these qualities appeared after he had brought to a conclusion one of the finest achievements connected with the Spanish conquests, without unnecessary bloodshed and, except in one case, without causing outrage to an

¹ Castellanos repeats one of these fabrications. It was said that, although the Court was in mourning for the Empress, who had only been dead six months, Quesada came in a scarlet dress covered with gold lace and fringe. The Emperor's Secretary, Francisco de los Cobos, saw him enter the courtyard from a window, and exclaimed: 'What madman is that? Turn him out!'

honest conscience. The riches he made were for the Crown and for others. Poor he went to his work of discovery, and poor he returned from the kingdom he had given to the Crown of Spain.

The claim of Quesada came before the Council of the Indies in due course. He, however, had a too powerful rival. Luis Alonso de Lugo, it may be remembered, committed a theft of an exceptionally disgraceful character, for he stole the gold from his comrades and, still worse, from his own father who was left in distress and embarrassment. His father sent home evidence of the theft, with a request that the villainy might be punished. The thief was imprisoned by the authorities in Spain, but not for long. On the arrival of the news of his father's death, the villain became hereditary Adelantado of the Canary Islands and Governor of Santa Martha—a post which had been granted for two lives. He claimed that Quesada's discovery of New Granada was part of the Santa Martha territory. The matter of the theft was hushed up. For Lugo had married Doña Beatriz de Noroña y Mendoza, and she was a sister of Maria de Mendoza who was the wife of Francisco de los Cobos, Comendador Mayor de Leon, and the

all-powerful Secretary of the Emperor Charles V. Against such interest, quite unscrupulously used, the case of Quesada stood no chance.

Yet the shamefully used discoverer was not wholly without friends in the Council of the Indies. A statement was signed by the Cardinal Archbishop of Seville, the Bishop of Lugo, the Count of Osorno and some others, in which it was represented that Quesada made the conquest by exposure to great dangers, hardships, and privations; that he conducted the enterprise as a God-fearing Christian without injuring anyone, either Spaniard or Indian; that the Adelantado, Lugo, trusted him more than his own son, for the many high qualities he found in him; that he brought back great store of gold and emeralds: for these reasons, and because Don Luis de Lugo is married and not so well fitted to rule over Spaniards and Indians, the charge should be given to the Licentiate Quesada. No complaint of him had come, but many petitions that he might be appointed. He was the son of an eminent jurist, an advocate in the High Court at Granada, and it seemed a great injustice not to reward such services because once, by chance, he played at dice with another licentiate, his countryman, in a

hostelry at Madrid. Besides, it was only for small stakes.¹

All was of no avail. The ladies were all-powerful with the Secretary, and the Secretary was all-powerful with the Emperor. On the tenth of September 1540, Charles V appointed the most unfit and the most undeserving man in all Spain to be Governor and Adelantado of Santa Martha and the new kingdom of Granada, in place of the discoverer whose great services were ignored. The order is dated at Brussels. Luis Alonso de Lugo made his preparations and sailed from Cadiz in the following December.

The Secretary, Cobos, continued his persecution of Quesada by spreading and encouraging false reports about him, and by using Villalobos, the Fiscal of the Council of the Indies, as his tool. Quesada was accused of disembarking at Malaga that he might conceal large quantities of gold: at least, his landing there was considered suspicious. Next Villalobos trumped up some false claim of old standing, and demanded 12,000 ducats. When Quesada went to France he was accused of

¹ The dignitaries of the Church and others, who signed this report in favour of Quesada, are said to have been open to bribery. It is very likely. But there are no grounds for supposing that they were bribed on this occasion.

going there because the price of emeralds was higher in France. Stories were told of the reckless way in which he spent the riches he had improperly acquired. It was said that he was put in prison at Lisbon for wearing an embroidered shirt, and that when he was let out he gave the jailer's wife 100 ducats. Also that, playing at dice with Hernando Pizarro and another at Madrid, when his friends gave small coins to the girl who waited on them, he poured two handfuls of ducats into her apron. These lies were busily circulated.

The real Quesada was very differently employed. He travelled, to escape persecution, in France and Italy and in Portugal, and he was occupied a good deal in literary pursuits. Among other essays which are lost, he wrote a review of the history of Paulo Jovio in Latin, because 'he was grieved to see such a good style and so little truth, nor could he suffer so much abuse and discourtesy of the Spanish nation, without answering it.' It was upwards of ten years before the great discoverer was allowed to return to New Granada. He did so in 1550, in company with the judges of the new High Court of Justice, with the title of Marshal, but without any jurisdiction.

Luis Alonso de Lugo went to his government with the sole object of plunder. When he arrived at the pearl fishery at Rio de la Hacha he demanded a twelfth as his perquisite as Governor of Santa Martha. Castellanos, the Royal Treasurer, refused to allow the chest containing the pearls to be opened, and refused to give up the keys. At last Lugo found the key in a small purse hidden in the Treasurer's nether garment. The plunderer then opened the chest and took what he chose; while the Treasurer wrote a complaint to the Council of the Indies.

Lugo did not go to Santa Martha, but he sent some of his officers there to procure boats and bring them up the River Magdalena to a point where he was to join them, coming by land. It has been suggested that he was ashamed to go to Santa Martha. Such a man as Lugo was incapable of any feelings of that kind. He landed in the valley of Upar and had to fight his way, through hostile tribes, to the banks of the Magdalena, where he found his boats; nor did his difficulties end there, for in working his way up the river he was subjected to incessant attacks.

The cause of those attacks is not without its romantic side. The Spaniards of Santa Martha,

in one of their raids on the river, had captured a little Indian boy, a very clever little boy, so clever that they would have been wiser if they had left him alone. He was brought up as a servant, whipped and ill-treated, and christened Francesquillo. One day he was missing. He had escaped to the river and proved to be a genius of a kind. For he almost immediately gained an extraordinary influence over the tribes of the Magdalena. He was barely sixteen years of age, yet thousands of Indians were ready to obey him. Francesquillo gave Lugo an uncommonly disagreeable time during his ascent of the Magdalena, and subjected his party to heavy loss. With any number of canoes at his disposal, the audacious boy organised an attack almost every day, pouring showers of poisoned arrows into the laden boats.

At last Lugo's party reached the mouth of the Opon, and he made the ascent of the mountains with much loss and difficulty. When he reached Velez, he was acknowledged as Governor, and travelling thence to Santa Fé de Bogotá he assumed command, at once superseding Captain Suarez Rondon. The expedition of Lugo brought the first cattle, which rapidly multiplied on the rich pastures of Bogotá and Tunja.

Lugo had come for plunder, and he began at once. It is not altogether without a feeling of satisfaction that we see the robbers and plunderers of the Chibchas robbed and plundered in their turn. They had sucked the unhappy natives dry, and now they were to undergo the same process themselves. Lugo may be compared with the robber skua.

The new Governor's first act was to arrest his predecessor, Captain Suarez Rondon, and throw him into prison, confiscating the whole of his property. This brought him in 50,000 ducats. His next proceeding was to recall all the *encomienda* grants on the plea that they were not in correct legal form, and that they must be made anew. In the interval, which he made a long one, he sent his agents round to extort the tribute for himself.

When Hernan Perez de Quesada returned from his wanderings in the Amazonian forests, anyone with a spark of humanity would have received him with a show of hospitable treatment. Lugo was devoid of any such feeling. He at once closely confined him in a prison, and shut up his brother Francisco, who had just arrived from Peru, in another prison. Eventually he banished the two brothers, and they went down the

Magdalena to the coast. When on board a ship bound for San Domingo they were both killed by lightning.

After more than three years of robbery and spoliation, this precious Adelantado Luis Alonso de Lugo, received the news that the inevitable *Juez de Residencia* was on his way to take him to account. So he resolved to evade the investigation by returning to Spain. He carried off 300,000 ducats in gold, and took Captain Suarez Rondon and some others as prisoners. Having bought a ship at Santa Martha for his voyage to Spain, he touched at the pearl fishery at Rio de la Hacha. The authorities there detained the vessel until Lugo had refunded the value of the pearls he had stolen on his way out. They also caused Suarez Rondon and the other prisoners to be liberated, as Lugo was quite capable of murdering them on the voyage home, lest he should have to refund any of their property. Lugo arrived in Spain, and all his misdeeds were condoned through the influence of the two ladies who were powerful enough to induce the Secretary Cobos to represent things to the Emperor in a false light. It is astounding that such a miscreant should have been allowed to follow his career of robbery with

impunity. It is still more wonderful that the wild soldiery in South America should have been such venerators of authority, and so law-abiding as to tolerate Lugo's exactions.

It was not due to ignorance that the Secretary and the Emperor allowed this oppressor to commit the crimes of which he was guilty. Las Casas, the protector of the Indians, took good care of that.

Las Casas wrote the following letter to the Emperor Charles V, from San Domingo in 1544.¹

' One of the most cruel tyrants and the most irrational and bestial, with little brain and less conscience than Barbarossa, is Luis Alonso de Lugo. They say that he is a brother-in-law of the Comendador de Leon's² wife, Dona Maria de Mendoza. This tyrant has done out there the same things that he did when his father was alive, and more incredible things still. For he has had absolute command of time and place. He has now done what I told your Majesty and the same Comendador Mayor, and to all the Court he would do. I am satisfied with this prophecy. He has robbed God's honour, he has robbed your Majesty,

¹ In the *Archivos Hist. National*, dated September 15, 1544. Printed by Espada in his review of Castellanos.

² Francisco de los Cobos, the Emperor's Secretary.

he has been able to skin both Indians and Christians, not leaving a single *peso* in all the kingdom of New Granada that he has not stolen for himself. We shall see who will give the strict account God will require. I truly believe that the hardest and most rigorous will be that which the Comendador must give, and those of the Council who had so much respect for his wishes. They knew what manner of man Don Luis Alonso de Lugo was, from the evidence in the process which his own father instituted against him. Knowing all this, they yet gave the knife of justice to a man so bad as this man. As the Licentiate Cerrato has sent your Majesty an account of his wicked deeds, I do not desire to say more.'

This is certainly a damning indictment of the shamelessly corrupt practice of Secretary Cobo under the influence of his wife and sister-in-law. The man himself must have had an amount of audacious assurance, which is perfectly astounding, and, it must be assumed, some outward grace of manner which endeared him to those powerful ladies of the Court of Charles V. He was also a favourite of Prince Philip and of the Duke of Alva.

Lugo was not only allowed to evade justice and retain his plunder, but he received an excellent

appointment. He was given the command of 3000 well-trained soldiers to restore order in the Island of Corsica. He was afterwards stationed at Naples and at Sienna. He then appears to have gone to Flanders where he died, probably at Ghent.¹

This was the man who was allowed to deprive Quesada of his just reward for the discovery of New Granada.

Lugo's descendants had the assurance to clamour for money they claimed to be due to him, and litigation was carried on by his grand-daughter, the Princess of Asculi, until 1592.²

¹ Viera y Clavijo and Piedrahita say that he died in Flanders, the latter naming Ghent. Simon says Milan.

² Luis Alonso de Lugo, by his wife Beatriz de Noroña y Mendoza, had two children: (1) Luis Alonso Fernandez de Lugo, married to Maria de Castilla. He was bewitched, and died young and childless. He was surnamed 'The Beautiful.' (2) Luisa, married to Nicolo Marini, Duke of Terra Nova, and had a daughter Porcia Madalena, married to Antonio Luis de Leyva, fourth Prince of Asculi. She had four sons: (1) Antonio, (2) Jorge, (3) Luis, (4) Pedro Fernandez.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW LAWS

THERE was still an important but difficult piece of work to be achieved for the *encomenderos* of New Granada. The sources of gold were reported to be on the other side of the River Magdalena, and the fierce tribe of Panches barred the way. It was a young but very able and judicious officer named Hernan Venegas who solved this difficulty.

Venegas equipped a small force, consisting mainly of infantry, but with some cavalry and bloodhounds, and left Bogotá to discover the gold-mines. He descended the slopes of the cordillera as far as the junction of the River Vituimita with a stream flowing down a deep ravine. Here he encountered the army of the Panches under their chief, Siquima. There was a fierce encounter; but the Panches, who did not fear the horses, were terrified by the bloodhounds, and fled to their

heights. Venegas then sent a message to Siquima asking him for terms. The chief consented to allow the Spaniards to pass down to the Magdalena without further molestation.

Venegas succeeded in collecting canoes, in which his followers crossed the Magdalena; and he was guided by a native to a river, which was named the Venadillo because the inhabitants on its banks had domesticated some small deer. Near it, the Spaniards discovered the gold-washings and diggings which were the object of the expedition. Venegas returned to Bogotá. The next point was to reduce the Panches; for with this warlike tribe in the way, and always hostile, the gold-mines would be useless.

Venegas set out with seventy men, horse and foot; but he had to fight a desperate battle with the Panches, in which he was certainly not the victor. He gave up the plan of a front attack and direct fighting, and resolved to deal with them by a system of strategy directed to their flank and rear. With this object he began to negotiate with cognate tribes in and near the valley of the Magdalena. The Panches occupied the slopes of the cordillera for about ninety miles with a breadth of ten or twelve, and were supposed to number 50,000

fighting-men. To the north were the Colimas—a still fiercer race; and to the south, the Sutagaos. The Tocaimas, on the Magdalena and Pati, were more peacefully inclined; but the neighbouring tribes—Suitamas, Lachimis, and Anapuimas—were more warlike.

Passing the Lachimis, Venegas was successful in making an alliance with the chief of the Suitamas named Guacana who, after taking counsel with his old men, decided on receiving the Spaniards, and sending them presents. Venegas then resolved to found a city on the river Pati, the same as the Funza, only below the magnificent Tequendama Falls. This was in April 1544. Guacana gave his consent, and the new city received the name of Tocaima. The Lachimis and Anapuimas were hostile. A combined army of Spaniards and Suitamas marched against them, and they were entirely defeated. Spanish influence was firmly established along this part of the Magdalena, and Venegas gained his object—which was to work round the rear of the Panches, and cut them off from their markets. Those dwellers in mountain fastnesses were more or less dependent on the markets for their existence. Especially, they were unable to exist without salt, and of that necessary

of life they were entirely deprived. It was thus that the indomitable warriors were reduced to submission, and the skilful management of the campaign reflects great credit on the ability and skill with which young Venegas conducted it.

Lugo, when he fled from justice, had left a relation, named Montalvo de Lugo, in charge of the government of New Granada. But the *Juez de Residencia*, Dr. Miguel Diaz de Armendariz, had already arrived. He was detained on the coast for some time, taking the *residencia* at Cartagena. He therefore sent his nephew, a gallant and very handsome young knight of Pampluna, named Pedro de Ursua, to take charge until his arrival at Bogotá. Ursua was well-intentioned, but too young. He was, however, accompanied by an experienced adviser in the person of the veteran Captain Suarez Rondon, who had escaped from Lugo at the pearl fishery. On their arrival at Bogotá, Montalvo de Lugo was arrested and Ursua assumed the government.

Soon afterwards Miguel Diaz Armendariz, the *Juez de Residencia*, arrived at Bogotá. He was commissioned not only to make a strict scrutiny of previous administrations, but also to publish the New Laws for the protection of the Indians.

The representations of Friar Bartolomé de las Casas respecting the cruel treatment of the Indians, which was causing a rapid diminution of the populations in South America, at length aroused the anxious attention of the Government of Charles V. Several councillors of great weight and experience advised caution, for many grants had already been made and their revocation would cause great discontent and probably rebellion. But the statements of Las Casas were corroborated by persons who returned from the Indies, on whose truth and good faith reliance could be placed. Many orders and decrees had been sent out for the protection of the Indians, and had been invariably ignored. Charles V now ordered the New Laws to be very solemnly published and enforced.

It was of no use. The fact was that it was too late. The harm had been done. Grants had been made. The beasts of prey had their teeth firmly fixed in the flesh of their victims and could not be beaten off. In Mexico there was a statesmanlike Viceroy who saw this. He suspended the promulgation of the New Laws until they could be reconsidered, and they were never enforced. In Peru, a Viceroy was sent out to enforce the New

Laws. He was devoid of judgment or tact. The consequence was that there was a formidable rebellion, the Viceroy was driven out of the country which was nearly lost to Spain, and the New Laws became a dead letter. There was a burst of furious discontent everywhere. Yet the New Laws were admirably framed, and the humane intentions of the Emperor and his advisers deserve the warmest recognition.

It was enacted that the tribunals should make it their particular care that the Indians were well treated, and that their disputes were decided not by ordinary law, but according to their own usages and customs.

‘That no Indian is to be made a slave, either owing to being taken in war, or in rebellion, or for ransom, or on any other pretence whatever; but that they are to be treated as free men, and vassals of the royal Crown of Castille.

‘That no person may oblige any Indian to serve, in any way whatever, against his will.

‘That the Tribunals, without any trial, but only on ascertaining the fact, shall set at liberty the Indians who have been slaves, if the persons who hold them in servitude cannot show a title to prove that they hold them legally; and the judges shall

appoint a suitable person to take the part of the Indians.

‘ That the Indians shall not carry loads, and if in any part they cannot be excused, the weight is to be moderate, and not such as to endanger life or health ; and they are to be paid for their work, and must do it of their own free wills.

‘ That no one employed by the King, nor by monasteries, priests, or religious fraternities shall hold Indians in *encomienda*, and those they hold are to be made vassals of the Crown. If anyone offers to resign rather than lose his Indians, it is not to be allowed.

‘ All persons who hold Indians without a title, but only by their own authority, shall give them up as vassals of the Crown.

‘ As it is understood that the grants made to some are excessive, the Judges shall reduce such grants to an honest and moderate amount, the excess being vested in the Crown.

‘ If any *Encomenderos* deserve deprivation by reason of their ill-treatment of the Indians, their property shall be vested in the Crown.

‘ For no reason or cause whatever shall any Viceroy or Tribunal, or any other person, be empowered to grant Indians ; and on the death of any

person holding them, they shall be free as vassals of the Crown. If, by reason of the services of the deceased it seems proper to give the widow and children a sustenance allowance, this shall be done, by the Judges, from the tribute paid by the Indians.

‘The Judges shall take great care that the Indians are well treated and taught the things pertaining to our Holy Catholic Faith.

‘Those who are making discoveries shall assess the tribute to be paid by the Indians with moderation, paying attention to their well-being, and with such tribute the explorer may be helped; so that the Castillians shall have no power over any Indian, nor rule over them, and this is to be expressly stipulated in all new discoveries.’

Such were the New Laws. The object was that the tribute, or land-tax, hitherto paid to the *Encomenderos* and to an excessive amount, should henceforth be moderate, fixed by law, and paid to the Crown. In so far as this object was secured the New Laws did unmixed good.

When the Judge, Armendariz, arrived in Bogotá, he published the New Laws with great solemnity. At once there was a howl of rage and discontent. Procurators were nominated by the settlers to go to Spain and petition for their revocation, especially

the clause which precluded the widow and children from succeeding to the *encomienda* of the deceased. Armendariz wisely suspended the execution of the New Laws until the result of the mission was known.

Meanwhile, expeditions were undertaken and new cities were founded. Pedro de Ursua was eager to undertake an enterprise which would lead to new discoveries. He was a young knight who united an excellent education with amiability, sweetness of temper, and proved valour. He assembled a force of 140 men at Tunja, with Ortun Velasco, an experienced soldier, as his lieutenant, and in 1548 he set out, through the country of the Laches, to explore the cordilleras to the north-east. His expedition met with some success, and he founded a new city, named Pampluna, after his native place, a designation which it has retained to the present day. Ursua was afterwards engaged, under the Viceroy of Peru, to lead an expedition down the great River of Amazons. The terrible story of his murder, and of the mutiny of the monster, Aguirre, was told in detail by the Friar Pedro Simon in his 'Noticias Historiales,'¹ but it

¹ Translated and edited for the Hakluyt Society in the volume entitled *The Search for El Dorado*.

does not come within the scope of the New Granada story. Before parting from his uncle, Ursua led an unsuccessful expedition against the fierce Musos Indians, who were not finally subdued until many years afterwards. Their homes were north of the Colimas, and a valuable emerald mine was afterwards found in their country.

The mission of the Procurators to Spain to petition the Emperor that the New Laws might be abrogated only met with partial success. They succeeded in getting the clause annulled which provided that the widow and children should not succeed to the *encomienda* of a deceased husband and father. The grant for two lives was allowed to be re-enacted. A more important consequence of the mission of the Procurators from New Granada was an order respecting the government of the country. It was enacted that the chief judicial and executive power should be entrusted to a royal *Audiencia* or High Court of Justice, consisting of three *Oidores* or Judges. They were nominated by the Emperor, and were the Licentiate Mercado, a lawyer of great experience, and two much younger men named Gongora and Galarza. They were to sail for South America in 1549. They took out an order that the royal Seal was to be received

as if it had been the Emperor himself. It was to enter the city of Santa Fé de Bogotá in procession, on a richly caparisoned horse, with a canopy borne over it on four wands or poles carried by magistrates on horseback.

CHAPTER XV

RETURN AND DEATH OF QUESADA, WHICH COMPLETES THE STORY

FOR more than ten long years the illustrious discoverer of New Granada had waited for that justice which came at last. He had passed his time in travelling through France and Italy, in literary pursuits, and a good deal, no doubt, with his parents at their home in Granada. In 1549 his father and mother were probably dead, both his brothers had been killed by lightning, his sister was married, and the home at Granada was broken up. He began to long for his former active life and to re-visit the country he had discovered, though he was now turned fifty. His application to the Emperor was favourably considered. There was a feeling that he had been very unjustly treated, and perhaps some regret. Quesada was given the title of Marshal, and afterwards of Adelantado,¹ with leave to return to New Granada, where he was to

¹ March 5, 1565.

receive a pension from the royal treasury at Bogotá. But he was given no jurisdiction. He was treated with great respect, often consulted, sometimes employed on important public business, but he was never given the actual government of the country he discovered.

Quesada arranged to go out with the Judges of the *Audiencia*. Some Franciscan and Dominican friars were also of the party. Unfortunately, the most experienced Judge, the Licentiate, Mercado, died at Mompox on their way up the Magdalena. The two others, Gongora and Galarza, assumed the executive power at Bogotá in conjunction with Armendariz. They were very young for such a position, but were conciliatory, efficient, and humane to the natives so far as that was compatible with retaining the friendship of the *Encomenderos*, for they were very popular. Quesada resided chiefly at Bogotá, occasionally retiring to a country house at Suesca. Among other public employments he went to Cartagena, at the request of the Judges, to hold a *residencia*.

Several expeditions were organised by the *Audiencia* in the years between 1550 and 1560. There were two campaigns against the Musos, the most fierce of the native tribes. In June 1550,

Andres Galarza was sent to form a settlement near the gold-mines, and in February 1551, he founded the city of Ibague in a charming spot near the Magdalena and close to the silver-mine of San Anton. Mariquita was founded, in August of the same year, by the side of a limpid stream of cold water flowing from the cordillera, in the midst of lovely scenery, by Francisco Nuñez Pedroso. It is two leagues from the Magdalena. There was also an unsuccessful expedition into the eastern forests in search of gold, led by Juan de Avendaño.

When the Adelantado, Gonzalo Jimenes de Quesada, was approaching his seventieth year, unwarned by the failure of his brother and others, he undertook to lead an expedition in search of El Dorado, in the forests to the eastward, to be equipped at his own expense. It would seem that this wild enterprise originated from Spain, and that the Adelantado, Quesada, had a hint that he would receive a marquisate if he succeeded.

Francisco Aguilar contributed, and 300,000 *pesos de oro* were expended before the expedition was ready to start. It consisted of 300 Spaniards, including some women, and 1500 native porters. Sickness attacked them very soon after entering

the forests. There were many deaths, and the invalids were allowed to return. One serious loss was that of the priest, Medrano, who died of fever. He went as chronicler of the expedition, and he left behind, in manuscript, a history of the discovery and conquest of New Granada which formed the base of Friar Pedro Simon's subsequent history. In spite of all difficulties, which to most explorers would have been insuperable, Quesada pressed onwards. At last only forty-five men were left, and he allowed twenty to return. Still the intrepid old veteran, with a small selected band, continued his march until he reached the banks of the Guaviare near its junction with the Orinoco. This is one of the most remarkable journeys on record. At last Quesada was obliged to return unsuccessful, only because success was impossible, coming back to Bogotá deeply in debt. He had been absent three years, and his age was now over seventy-two.

There were changes in the government of New Granada. A judge named Montaña arrived as *Juez de Residencia* and arrested Armendariz, who was sent to be tried in Spain. The accusations against him were disproved and he was completely exonerated. He then entered Holy orders, and died a canon of Sigüenza. The two other judges,

Gongora and Golarza, were also arrested and sent for trial in Spain, by Montaña, with nothing against them except their friendship for Armendariz. Unluckily they embarked in the same ship as Don Pedro de Heredia, the Governor of Cartagena, and were drowned in the shipwreck, to the grief of the whole New Granada Colony, where they were deservedly beloved. The Judge, Montaña, with a colleague named Briceño, ruled in New Granada for several years. Montaña was said to have been a harsh, severe man, and he was very unpopular, but he has the merit of having enforced what remained of the New Laws with inflexible justice.

The Adelantado, Quesada, had written his important work on the discovery and conquest of New Granada before his journey in search of El Dorado, for a licence to print it was given on November 4, 1568. It was entitled 'Los tres ratos de Suesca,' because it was written during three holidays (*ratos*) at his country house of Suesca. It consisted, we are told by Simon, of three books, but, though a licence was given, it was never published, and the precious manuscript is lost.¹

¹ Don Marcos Jimenez de la Espada, in a note to his review of Castellanos, says that the manuscript of *Los tres ratos de Suesca* was in the library at Santa Fé de Bogotá, but disappeared in the first third of the nineteenth century. In a letter of the distinguished

A few years before his death, Quesada wrote a report on the merits and fortunes of the fifty-three surviving companions who were with him at the conquest of New Granada. It has been preserved, and there is a copy among the Muñoz MSS.¹ Quesada also wrote some sermons to be preached on the festival of Our Lady.

In 1573 there was a rebellion of a coalition of Indians in the valley of the Magdalena, under Yuldama, chief of the Gualies. The judges, requested the Adelantado, Quesada, to take command of an expedition to restore order. The loyal old veteran undertook the duty, and marched to Mariquita with seventy men. He surprised the insurgent chief, who died fighting, and the rebellion was quelled. This was the last service of the Adelantado.

As age advanced, Quesada was attacked by some cutaneous disease, and he went to Tocaima to be near the sulphur-baths, where he lived for several

Argentine Aurelio Prado y Rojas, dated Madrid, August 30, 1878, it is stated that in an excursion he made into the north of Spain he met a Señor de Salamanca, who said that he possessed a MS. of Quesada and wished to publish it, but that he had not the means. Don Aurelio died soon after he wrote the letter. The MS. is believed to be the *Tres Ratos*, which may still exist.

See Appendix II.

years. Towards the end, he removed to Mariquita ¹ where, surrounded by lovely scenery, he died on February 16, 1579, aged eighty. He left no children, and his brothers were also childless. His representatives and heirs were the descendants of his sister, two families named Oruña and Berrio. The body of the illustrious discoverer was removed to Bogotá in 1597, and buried in the cathedral. The standard of the conquest was placed over his tomb, and every year it was taken in procession on August 6, the day on which Quesada founded the city.

Gonzalo Jimenes de Quesada, the illustrious discoverer of New Granada, was no ordinary man. He left Spain at the age of thirty, after having received a good education, acquired legal knowledge, and been imbued with literary tastes. Yet the Adelantado, de Lugo, saw in this young lawyer, or thought he saw, a leader of men, a resolute and courageous captain, and an able administrator endowed with foresight and the other qualities needed for a commander in a difficult enterprise.

¹ Mariquita was the botanical headquarters of Dr. Mutis. Here he instructed draughtsmen, made collections, and completed a portion of his large collection of plants. He resided at Mariquita for seven years (1783-1790). His collection consisted of 24,000 dried plants and 5000 drawings of plants by his eight pupils.

The Adelantado was right. Quesada turned out to be endowed with more indomitable resolution, and greater moral courage, than any of the military captains. He showed this when, at the turning-point, he stood firm, but alone, against retreat. He showed it still more when, in his old age, he made that wonderful journey through the forests. He was naturally humane both in his own character and from policy, though he was responsible for one atrocious act of perfidy and cruelty. That he yielded to the violence and greedy avarice of others, unwillingly, cannot be accepted as an excuse. Momentary weakness cannot palliate such a crime. Quesada was a very able administrator, as well as a born leader of men. In adversity and disappointment he was dignified and resigned. Always ready to serve his country, ever loyal and zealous, he remained in harness until after his seventy-fourth year, and died at a good old age, respected and revered. He takes his place in the first rank among the great men who gave the Indies to the Spanish Crown, greater than Pizarro, greater in some respects than Cortes.

With the death of Quesada, the story is completed. The kingdom of New Granada continued to be ruled by the Presidents of the *Audiencia* or

High Court of Justice until, towards the end of the eighteenth century, New Granada was raised to a Viceroyalty. That the government was a bad one, as regards the natives, is proved by the rapid diminution of the population. In Ibaque there were 18,000 natives at the time of the conquest ; in 1610 only 600 ! In Mariquita the population was 30,000 when the Spaniards arrived ; in the seventeenth century 2000 ! It was the same throughout.

The Chibcha language had quite ceased to be spoken in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Yet a native race of pure white descent was rising up in New Granada which was destined to found another civilisation in the land which had witnessed the destruction of that of the Chibchas. Many families of that race can trace descent from the first settlers. From generation to generation that race, though hampered by Spanish monopolies, continued to develop liberal sentiments, feelings of humanity, desire for knowledge, and love of literature and science. By the latter half of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries there was a distinct development of those traits of character in that kingdom of New Granada.

Let us take one example out of several. It will be remembered that the city of Antioquia was

founded by the unfortunate Robledo. It has not been often visited by travellers since. Humboldt was never there, nor Captain Cochrane, nor Molliens, nor Holton. Yet here we find the inhabitants making progress in literature and the arts. One distinguished citizen of Antioquia, in those days, was José Manuel Restrepo¹ who, in 1809, wrote a very able account of his native province. Up to that time this rich and fertile region was entirely unknown to geographers. No astronomical or other observations had ever been taken in it, and its rivers and other features were either not marked at all or put down in false positions on the maps. Restrepo surveyed his native province and constructed the first map in 1807.² He triangulated the whole province, corrected his bearings by sun's azimuths, took meridian altitudes of stars for his latitudes, and deeply regretted that he had no instrument to enable him to fix his longitudes by observing the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites. Restrepo also wrote a detailed description of the valley of the Cauca.³

When Don José Celestino Mutis was employed by King Charles III. of Spain on a botanical

¹ Born at Envigado (Antioquia) in 1782 ; died at Bogotá 1864.

² Now in the Map-room of the Royal Geographical Society.

³ *Semanario de la Nueva Granada*, pp. 194-228.

mission to New Granada, he found that Restrepo did not stand alone, and that there was the same talent, the same desire for knowledge, and the same zeal for the cause of science in Bogotá as in Antioquia. Caldas,¹ the leading man of science in those days at Bogotá, was the friend of Mutis. That eminent botanist undoubtedly gave a spur to scientific inquiry among the rising generation of that time in New Granada. Caldas, after a most valuable career, during which he promoted and advanced civilisation, enlightenment, and progress, finally met with a patriot's death. Francisco Antonio Zea, born in 1770, was another eminent Colombian, a diplomatist and statesman, as well as a botanist.

Restrepo, Zea, and Caldas have had numerous and very able successors down to the present day. To mention one example, when the precious drawings of Chinchona plants of many species, by the hands of Mutis and his pupils, were rescued from a tool house in the Botanical Garden at Madrid, it was a Colombian, Done José Triana, a distinguished botanist and a high authority on the

¹ Francisco José Caldas was born at Popayán in 1776. Friend of Mutis and Humboldt. He fixed positions by astronomical observations, and drew maps and plans. He edited the *Semanario de la Nueva Granada*. Shot by order of Murillo in 1816.

genus *Melastomaceæ*, who was found to be the best editor of the work containing the drawings of Mutis. Nor have the writers on the early civilisation of the Chibchas, and on the conquest been less distinguished. It is only necessary to mention the names of Acosta and of Uricoechea among others.¹ The civilisation of the Chibchas has passed away, but it ought not to be forgotten. It is succeeded by that of an enlightened and progressive race—the people of the Republic of Colombia.

¹ Such as Don José Antonio de Plaza, the author of *Memorias para la Historia de la Nueva Granada, desde su descubrimiento hasta el 20 de Julio de 1810* (1850); José M. Vergara y Vergara's chronological *Quadro* of the rulers of the country; Don Liborio Zerde's *El Dorado*; Uribe-Angel on the geography of Antioquia; several memoirs by Calcedo-Rojas Quijano Otero, Vicente Restrepo, Posada, and Ibañez, on the early history of New Granada and on national history.

APPENDIX I

TRANSLATION OF THE DUQUESNE MEMOIR ON THE CHIBCHA CALENDAR ¹

THE Muyscas ² counted by the fingers. They only have special words for the first ten numerals and for twenty : 1, *Ata* ; 2, *Bosa* ; 3, *Mica* ; 4, *Muyhica* ; 5, *Hisca* ; 6, *Ta* ; 7, *Cuhupcua* ; 8, *Suhuza* ; 9, *Aca* ; 10, *Ubchihica* ; 20, *Gueta*. On finishing the fingers they turned to the toes, repeating the same words with *Quihicha* placed before them, which means a toe.

Gueta means a house and sown field—a homestead. On reaching twenty, they turned to count another twenty, uniting with the first, until they reached twenty of twenty.

Just as the mathematicians have given the circle 360 degrees for the facility with which that number can be sub-divided into others to make any calculation, so they divided their numerals into four parts grouped in fives. So that their most privileged numbers were 5, 10, 15, 20, and these served to regulate all their transactions.

The moon was the object of their observations and their worship. This star, which was ever before their eyes, gave them the model of their houses, temples, work—in a word, of all their affairs. They fixed a pole in the

¹ Omitting a long account of the sacrificial ceremonies.

² Muysca was the name given by the Spaniards to the Chibchas. It means ' a man ' in the Chibcha language.

ground as a centre and traced a circle round it with a cord. This pole and cord, if the characters and symbols described in the table are considered, will be recognised as the principal elements by which they are formed. The different meanings which these numerals have in their language, all have reference to the phases of the moon, the work of sowing, the superstitions of their idolatry, and so lead us directly to the formation of their calendar.

The Muyscas had these symbols at hand mentally just as musicians have the signs of the system of Aretino. Thus, by merely a turn of the fingers, they knew the state of the moon and the rulings of their affairs and their crops.

The year consisted of twenty moons, and the cycle of twenty years. They began to count the year from the opposition, and full moon was figured by *Ubchihica* (10)—meaning, brilliant moon; then, counting seven days from that point, beginning with *Ata*, which follows *Ubchihica*, finding the quadrature in *Cuhupcua* (7), counting seven from there they found the next immersion of the moon in *Muyhica* (4), which means something black, and the day following the conjunction, symbolised in *Hisca* (5), was in their conception a union of the moon with the sun, representing the nuptials of the two stars, the main dogma of their belief. Counting eight days they reached the other quadrature in *Mica* which means varyings, to indicate the continual phases or variations. The first aspect of the first phase they symbolised by *Cuhupcua* (7), and as the quadrature falls in this symbol, they gave it two ears, and called it deaf, for reasons connected with their superstitions.

The same symbols served for counting the years, and contained a general system for the order of sowing.

Ata (1) and *Aca* (9) represent the waters, by a toad. The more frequent crouching of that animal serves as a sign that the time for sowing is at hand.

Bosa is a sowing round the principal sowing, to protect the central part from harm.

Mica (to seek, to choose small things), means the selection of seeds for sowing.

Muyhica: anything black. It symbolises a time of rain and gloom. Its root means the growth of plants, the crops increasing from the benefit of irrigation.

Hisca: anything green. The rains have made the fields beautiful and pleasant. The plants growing give hopes of fruit.

Ta, the sixth month of sowing, corresponds to harvest.

Cuhupcua: their granaries have the shape of a shell or a ear.

Cuhutana, which has the same root, means the corners in the house where the grain is kept—the granary.

Suhuza—the tail—meaning the end of the work from sowing to harvest. (Allusion to the pole on their causeway, where the solemnities took place on the completion of the harvest.)

Ubchihica may refer to their feasts.

Gueta (homestead), symbolised by a toad displayed, an emblem among them of felicity.

The Indians looked upon these symbols as so many oracles. They taught their sons with tenacity this doctrine of their elders, and, not content with these precautions to preserve the rule of the year, they marked it by the blood of many victims.

They never used the word *zocam*, a year, without the corresponding number as *zocam ata*, *zocam bosa*. The same rule prevailed with the word *suna*, a causeway, where the sacrifices were made at sowing and harvest: *suna ata*, *suna bosa* (the causeway, two causeways). In this way the localities were like a book for registering the calculations.

Twenty months made a year. These ended, they

counted another twenty, and so on, turning in a continual circle until they reached twenty of the twenties. The intercalation of a month, which it is necessary to make after the thirty-sixth month, to make the lunar correspond with the solar year, was arranged with the greatest facility. For, as they had the whole calendar in their hands, they sowed two sowings running with a sign in the middle, and the third sowing with two signs.

Distributing the signs on the fingers, this finger tablet will give us all the combinations. We will suppose that *Ata*, which is the first finger, corresponds with January and that it is a month proper for sowing. Running on the fingers the second sowing corresponds with *Mica*, skipping *Bosa* which is between *Ata* and *Mica*. Therefore this sowing falls on the thirteenth month with respect to *Ata*.

Carrying on the fingers from *Mica*, the sowing falls in *Hisca*, skipping *Muyhica* which is between *Mica* and *Hisca*, so that the sowing is placed in the thirteenth month with respect to *Mica*.

Carrying on the finger from *Hisca* the sowing will be in *Suhuza*, passing over two signs *Ta* and *Cuhupcua*, which are between *Hisca* and *Suhuza*. This is in the fourteenth month with respect to *hisca*.

The month *Cuhupcua* (which in their language means deaf) is the one that is intercalated, because it is the seventeenth of the second *muycsa* year whose number, added to the twenty months of the first year, makes thirty-seven, and so the lunar and solar years become equal, and *Suhuza* becomes a true January.

This intercalation, which was continually verified, letting the thirty-seventh month pass as deaf, makes us perceive that between the two ordinary years, each of twenty months, there was another occult astronomical

year of thirty-seven months, so that the thirty-eighth month would be a true January. The Indians, without understanding the theory of this proposition of the month that must be added at the end of each three lunar years, being the twelfth before the twelve months and the third of the thirteenth, yet possessed a high faculty for the practice of their intercalation, following the established method, and in that way maintaining the astronomical year without the common people noticing any difference in their vulgar years, each of twenty months.

The vulgar year of twenty months served for truces in war (as appears in their history), for buying and selling, and other ordinary business. But the astronomical intercalated year of thirty-seven months, covering three sowings, was used mainly for agriculture and for religion. Thus the elders and priests made their calculations in much detail, noting the epochs for special sacrifices, graving them on stones by means of symbols and figures, as is seen on a pentagon which I have in my possession, and will explain at the end of this paper.

The cycle of the *Muyscas* of twenty intercalary years of thirty-seven months each, corresponding to sixty of our years, was composed of four revolutions counted by five and five, each one consisting of ten years of the *Muyscas* and five of ours, until twenty is completed, when the sign *Ata* returns to the place where it began. The first revolution closes in *Hisca*, second in *Ubchihica*, third in *Quihicha*, and the fourth in *Gueta*.

An understanding of these calculations is necessary for the comprehension of ancient history, and deciphering of symbols and figures, for without that they cannot be understood. We have therefore thought it indispensable to make a *Muysca* chronological table, by which all the economy of their cycle may easily be perceived.

The week was of three days, and marked by a market on the first day at *Turmeque*.

They divided the day *sua* and the night *za*. From dawn to noon *suamena*, noon to twilight *suameca*, twilight to midnight *zasca*, and midnight to dawn *cagui*.

Ata had for a symbol a toad in the act of jumping, to denote the opening of the year.

Aca, another toad from whose tail another begins to form.

Gueta a toad displayed, meaning abundance and felicity. To other numbers human features were given.

Bosa, represented by nostrils.

Mica, two eyes open.

Muyhica, two eyes closed.

Cuhupcua, two ears.

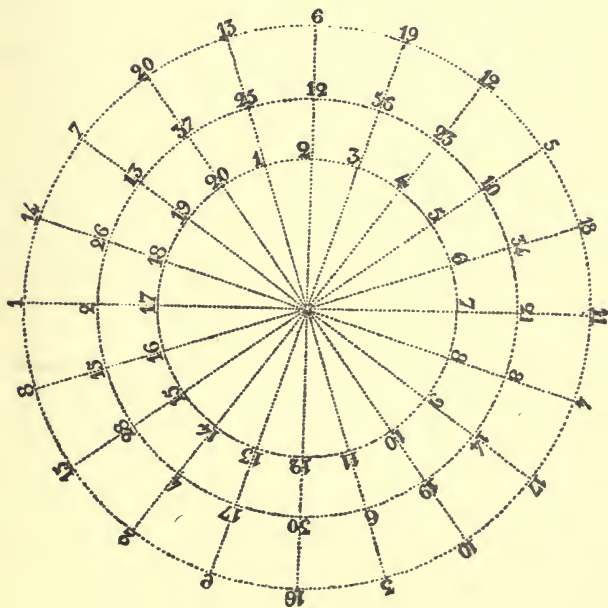
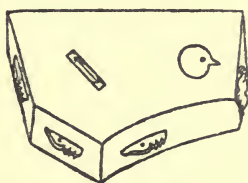
Ubchihica, one ear.

Ta, *suhuza*, the pole and cord.

Hisca, union of two figures.

We have seen the *Muysca* calendar on the fingers. They also engraved it on stones by means of symbolical figures. I have in my possession one which expresses this, according to my way of thinking. The toad is certainly the symbol of the first month of the year and cycle. The Indians depicted it in various ways. The act of jumping is the first sign *Ata*, and so it is found engraved on various stones; on others with a tail, which denotes *Quihicha Ata*, or the number twelve. I have observed several stones showing the toad without feet, which means *Gueta*.

On the pentagonal stone *a* is a toad in the act of jumping, *b* is a kind of finger denoted by three thick lines, *c* the same but placed outside the central position of the others, *d* is another preserving the central position, *e* is the body of a toad with a tail but without feet, *f* is a small snake, *g* is a circle.



On this stone the first revolution of the *Muysca* cycle is symbolised, which commences with *Ata* and ends with *Hisca*, including nine years and five months of the *Muysca* cycle.

a—The toad in the act of jumping means the beginning of the year and cycle.

b—A sort of finger with three notches means three years. *c* is omitted, being out of the central position.

d—Another three years which, added to those in *b*, make six.

This denoted the intercalation of *Quihicha Ata*, which occurs exactly at the sixth *Muysca* year, as will be seen in the table.

e is the body of a toad with a tail, but without feet; symbol of *Quihicha Ata*, and the absence of feet is proper for expressing the intercalation—not being counted, it is imagined without feet or movement.

f—A small snake, the sign of *Suhuza*, the month which is intercalated after *Quihicha Ata*; two years indicated by two lines on the back.

g is a closed temple.¹

The three circles are thus explained: the inner one represents the twenty months of the vulgar year; the second expresses the years corresponding to the intercalation of each sign; the outer circle shows the order of the intercalation.

To find, for example, in what year the sign *Mica* intercalates.—Look for 3 in the inner circle; 2 will be found to correspond in the second,² which is the year sought for. On the outer circle is the number 19, showing that the intercalation of *Mica* is in the nineteenth of the cycle.

¹ The references for the second figure are not given.

² 56 (?).

APPENDIX II

REPORT OF THE ADELANTADO, DON GONZALO XIMENES DE QUESADA, ON THE CONQUERORS AND ENCOMENDEROS

Memoir of the conquerors and discoverers who entered with me to discover and conquer this new kingdom of Granada.

SOME are dead, and these are the majority. Others are in Spain who have been here, but who have returned home. Others have gone to other parts of the Indies. Others remained in this kingdom, but have died during the subsequent thirty years. So that at the time that this Memoir is being written only *fifty-three* survive, whose names will be recorded here, and it is to be understood that they are named in the order of the value of their labours and services in the discovery and conquest of this kingdom—that is, those who are still alive. Also the rewards for services will be found here which each has received, and what else is needed to complete this memoir, very briefly stated; so that when some of them arrive in Spain, seeking rewards for services, it will only be necessary to refer to this memoir to see who are among the first, and whether or not the reward that is deserved has been given.

1. The *Captain, Juan de Cespedes*, one of those who is still living, is one of those who did most work and rendered the most valuable services in this discovery and conquest. He was one of the eight captains who entered with me into

this kingdom. He has merit. He possesses three *repartimientos* in this city of Santa Fé, in which there are 1500 Indians, more or less. They are called the *repartimientos* of *Ubaque*, *Caqueza*, and *Ubatoque*. He is well provided for in this kingdom.

2. The *Captain, Antonio de Olalla*, lives and has provision in this city of Santa Fé. He did not enter this kingdom with me, but came afterwards and served under me as an ensign of infantry. He has 800 or 1000 Indians in a good *repartimiento* called *Bogotá*, and thus is well provided for in this country and is a man of merit.

3. *Juan Valenciano*,¹ though he did not enter this kingdom with me as a captain, but only as a corporal, he worked and served well in this discovery. He had some *repartimientos*, but owing to lawsuits, or in other ways, they have been taken from him by those who have governed, also by reason of absences and journeys he has made, among them one to Jerusalem. So that he now has not any *repartimiento* nor provision. He deserves some reward, and has merit.

4. *Captain Gonzalo Suarez* is a man of merit. He entered this kingdom with me as a captain, being one of the eight with that rank. He lives and has property in the city of Tunja, consisting of three *repartimientos*, with 3000 Indians. They are called *Icabuco*, *Tibaná*, and *Guaneca*. He is very well provided for.

5. *Captain Antonio Cardoso* has merit, though he was not one of the eight captains who entered with me²; but he had been a captain before the discovery. He lives at Santa Fé, and is well provided for by a *repartimiento* called *Suba* and *Tuna*, with 900 or 1000 Indians.

¹ Not in the earlier list.

² Cardoso was one of Quesada's eight captains. There is a mistake here.

6. *Captain Gonzalo Garcia Zorro*¹ has merit. Though he did not enter with me as captain he came with me as a cornet of horse. He is reasonably well provided for by a *repartimiento* in the city of Santa Fé called *Fusagasugá* with about 500 Indians.

7. *Captain Hernan Venegas*² did not enter with me as a captain, but only as a cavalry soldier. Those who have governed here have since made him a captain, and he has merit. He lives at Santa Fé and is very well provided for by a principal *repartimiento* called *Guatavita*, with about 2000 Indians.

8, 9. *Juan de Ortega* and *Francisco de Figueredo* are two men who my conscience will not allow me to put either of them first, so I put them equal. *Juan de Ortega* lives in the city of Santa Fé, is a rich man and has some merit. He came in the cavalry. He is less than moderately provided for. He has one *repartimiento* called *Capaquira* and another called *Pacho*, with 300 or 400 Indians, more or less. *Francisco de Figueredo* came as a cavalry soldier, and also has some merit. He has a *repartimiento* in this city of Santa Fé, where he lives, though not a large one, called *Cipacon*, with 200 or 300 Indians, a little more or less.

10. *Captain Salguero* did not come as a captain, but only as a cavalry soldier. He has some merit and lives at Tunja, where he only has a moderate provision consisting of three little villages, one called *Ura*; but I do not remember the names of the others. He may have 200 Indians, more or less.

11. *Captain Juan Tafur* entered with me, not as a

¹ Not in the earlier list.

² He received the title of Marshal, and was the only founder of Santa Fé de Bogotá, except Quesada, who received a grant of arms. In 1669 he married Doña Juana Ponce de Leon, great-great-grand-daughter of the Duke of Cadiz: Marshal Venegas died in February 1583, and was buried in the cathedral of Bogotá.

captain, but only as a cavalry soldier. He is a man of merit, but is very poor because the *repartimiento* of *Pasca* was taken from him by Montalvo de Lugo, owing to a sentence of the Royal Council of the Indies.

12, 13. *Gomez de Cifuentes* and *Domingo de Aguirre*,¹ are another couple whose services I consider to be equal. I put Cifuentes first by chance. He is a man of moderate merit, living at Tunja, where he is moderately provided for, and even more than reasonably. He has a *repartimiento* called *Paypa* with 700 or 800 Indians. *Domingo de Aguirre*, as well as regards services and other things, holds the same place as Cifuentes. He lives in Tunja and has a *repartimiento* in *Sogamoso*, with about the same number of Indians as the other, and so is reasonably well provided for.

14. *Bartolomé Camacho*¹ lives in Tunja, and is provided for by a small *repartimiento*.

15. *Andres de Molina* lives in Santa Fé. He has merit and is well provided for, both as regards wealth and Indians, for he has a very good *repartimiento* called *Choconta*.

16. *Diego Romero* lives in Santa Fé and is well off, for he has two *repartimientos*, one called *Uné*, which is a good property, and another, the one with 400 Indians, and the other with 150.

17. *Paredes Calderon* lives at Tunja, a man with some merit and well off. For his *repartimiento* called *Somondoco* is rich, and includes 300 Indians.

18. *Juan de Quincoces*¹ is a person of merit who is rich in land and in Indians. He lives in Tunja and has three towns which, though small, are very profitable.

19. *Miguel Sanchez* is a man of some merit and is well off, living at Tunja. He has a very fair property consisting of two *repartimientos*, one reasonable, and the other very good, called *Onzaga*.

¹ Not in the earlier list.

20. *Pedro Rodriguez de Carrion* is a person of merit and is rich. He lives at Tunja and has a *repartimiento* of 300 Indians.

21. *Diego Montañez* has merit and is well provided for by a large *repartimiento* with 500 Indians. He lives at Tunja.

22. *Francisco de Mestanza* lives at Santa Fé, but has no property. He was despoiled of a *repartimiento* called *Cajica* by the Audiencia, and it is now Crown property. It was found that he had treated the Indians badly.

23. *Francisco Gomez*¹ lives at Santa Fé. He has merit and is well provided for. His two *repartimientos* are called *Tibacuy* and *Cueca*, good and profitable, with 400 Indians.

24. *Anton Rodriguez Cazalla*¹ lives at Tunja. He has few Indians and is badly off.

25. *Juan del Olmos* lives at Santa Fé. He is only moderately meritorious, and but moderately well off. For though he has three *repartimientos* called *Nemocon*, *Tasgala*, and *Tivito*, with 400 Indians, they are not very good, nor are they very bad as regards profit.

26. *Pero Ruiz Herrezuelo* lives in Tunja. He is moderately meritorious. He has two *repartimientos*, one with 200, the other called *Panqueba* with the same number of Indians.

27. *Alonso Gomez Sequillo*¹ lives at Velez. He is very badly provided for, having few Indians though formerly he had much more.

28. *Roa* lives in Tunja. He has some merit, and is well off with a *repartimiento* called *Tensa*.

29. *Pero Gomez*¹ lives at *Pamplona* and is well provided for there, having sold his property at Velez where he formerly lived.

30. *Juan Sanchez de Toledo*¹ is moderately well off at

¹ Not in the earlier list.

Santa Fé where he resides. He has no *repartimiento* because he sold the one he had called *Gachancipá*, went to Spain, and returned.

31. *Juan de Montalvo* lives at Santa Fé. He has no *repartimiento*, because he sold the one he had. [He was the last survivor and died in 1591.]

32. *Ramírez* lives at *Tocayma*, but is not well off, his *repartimiento* being small.

33. *Francisco Rodríguez* lives at Tunja and has merit, but is less than moderately well off, having only one village called *Sora*, with 200 to 300 Indians.

34. *Monrroy* lives in Los Remedios, and had no provision, but the President has recently given him a small *repartimiento*.

35. *Macias* lives in Tunja, and had more than he has now, having given much away as dowries for his daughters.

36. *Antonio de Castro* has some merit, and lives at Tunja. He is well provided for by two *repartimientos*, one called *Tinjaca*, the other *Ceranza*, with 700 Indians in one, 200 in the other. He bought the latter from another conqueror.

37. *Juan Rodríguez Parra* lives at Tunja. He has some merit and is well off with *repartimientos* called *Chicamocha* and *Tequia*.

38. *Salazar* lives in Velez and is badly off.

39. *Antonio Bermudez* lives at Santa Fé. With a moderate share of merit he is badly off, he sold his *repartimientos* of *Ubaté*, *Suta*, and *Tausa*, spent the money except enough to buy another small *repartimiento* with 200 Indians called *Chivachi*.

40. *Juan Rodríguez Gil* lives in Tunja and is very well off.

41. *Castil Blanco* lives in Velez and has no Indians because he has sold them. [Came with Federman.]

42. *Juan Alonso* has Indians in Velez where he lives.

43. *Ledesma* lives in Velez. I believe he has sold what he had.

44. *Juan Lopez* lives at Tunja. He has some merit and a profitable *repartimiento* with 500 Indians called *Sachica*.

45. *Juan Gomez* lives at Santa Fé and has a *repartimiento* with 200 or 300 Indians called *Usme*.

46. *Monteagudo* lives at Tunja. He is fairly well off, with two *repartimientos*.

47. *Pero Rodriguez de Leon* also lives at Tunja with a good *repartimiento*.

48. *Pedro Sotelo* has no *repartimiento*. He sold one that was given to him in *Marquita*.

49. *Manchado* lives in Tunja. He has no provision and is poor and infirm. He is blind from a wound.

50. *Diego de Torres* lives in Pampluma and has a small *repartimiento*, being very badly off.

51. *Pedro de Madrid* lives at Tunja and has a very profitable *repartimiento* with 600 Indians.

52. *Juan de Salamanca* lives at Tunja. He has one small *repartimiento*, having sold another called *Sutatasco*.

Besides these first discoverers and conquerors of this kingdom, there were others who were second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, and who were employed in the risings and rebellions of the natives, but to treat of them would be endless, so I do not attempt it.

THE MARSHAL XIMENES.

July 5, 1576.

APPENDIX III

ENCOMIENDAS

(F.)—Came with Federman. (B.)—Came with Belalcazar.

Places granted in *encomienda*, from a list of *Encomenderos* compiled by Colonel Acosta from the various chronicles.

BOGOTÁ.—Antonio de Olalla (*see* SANTA FÉ).

BOYACA.—Hernondo de Alcocer.

BONSA.—Pedro Nuñez Cabrera.

CHIA.—Cristoval de San Miguel (Royal Treasurer).

CHIBATA.—Pedro Bravo de Rivera.

CHINGA (*in* SANTA FÉ).—Cristoval de Toro.

CHITALASAL.—Pedro Rodriguez de Salamanca.

CHOACHI.—Antonio Bermudez (but went to Carthagen).

CHOCONTÁ.—Andres Vasquez de Molina.

CHUSBITA and SAGRA (*which see*).

CUITIBA.—Pedro Lopez de Monteagudo.

CUNUBA (*in* TUNJA).—Diego de Paredes Calvo.

COTA.—Francisco de Tordehumos.

DUITAMA.—Baltazar Maldonado.

EUGATISA.—Diego Romero.

FACATATIVÁ.—Alonso de Olalla (F.), who made the wonderful leap at Simijaca.

FURAQUIRA.—Juan de Quincoces de Llana.

GAMEZA.—Ortun Ortiz.

GUACAMAYA (*in* TUNJA).—Francisco de Monsalvo.

GUACHETA.—Hernan Venegas, Ensign, then Captain, finally Marshal.

GUATAVITA.—Hernan Venegas.

IBAGUE.—Domingo Lozano (F.): founded Buga; old soldier at sack of Rome.

ICABUCO.—Gonzalo Suarez Rondon.*

IGUAQUE (*in* TUNJA). Pedro Rodriguez Carrion de los Rios y Mantilla.

MACHETA (*see* TIBIRITA).—Juan de Rivera.

MESVA.—Francisco de Cespedes; (*also* SUAQUE and TUNJAQUE).

MONGUA.—Francisco Solguero.

MUSO.

NEMOCON.—Juan de Olmos; (*and* PACHO).

OCAVITA.—Mateo Sanchez Cogolludo.

ONZAGA.—Miguel Sanchez.

PACHO (*see* NEMOCON).

PANCHES.—Cristoval de Miranda. CHILAGUA.—Antonio Martinez.

PANQUEBA.—Pedro Ruiz Herrezuelo.

PASCA.—Francisco de Mestanza.

PESCA.—Captain Juan de Madrid and Juan Tapur.

SACHICA.—Juan Lopez.

SAGRA.—Pedro Rodriguez de Leon.

SESQUIBE.—Cristoval Bernal.

SERREZUELA.—Alfonso Diaz (*came late*).

SIQUIMA.—Pedro de Miranda; (*and* TOCAREMA).

SOBACHOQUE.—Juan de Guemes.

SOMONDOCO.—Diego Paredes Calderon.

SORA.—Francisco Arias Maldonado.

SORACA.—Francisco Rodriguez.

SOTAQUIRA.—Diego Suarez Montonez.

SANTA FÉ.— { Gonzalo Garcia Sorro.
Francisco Gomez de Feria.
Juan de Torres (Q.).
Cristoval Ruiz.
Domingo Ladron de Guevara (F.).
Mateo Sanchez Rey.

SUAQUE (*see* MESVA).

SUBA.—Antonio Diaz Cardoso.

SUESCA.— { Hernan Gomez Castillejo.
Cristoval Rodriguez.

SUSA.—Luis Lanchero (F.).

SUTATENZA.—Cristoval de Roa.

TABIO.—Cristoval Gomez Nieto (F.).

TEUSACA.—Gaspar Mendez.

TIBIRITA.—Cristobal Arias de Monroy ; (*and* MACHETA).

TINJACA.—Juan de Avendaño (B.).

TOCANCIPA.—Hernando de Velasco Angulo.

TOCAIMA.— { Hernando del Prado.
Lorenzo Vilaspasas (F.).
Pedro de Molina (F.).
Juan Diaz Hidalgo (B.).

TOACA (*in* TUNJA).—Anton de Esquivel (B.).

TOCAREMA (*see* SIGUIMA).

TOPAIPI (*in* LA PALMA).—Pedro de Acebo Sotelo (Secretary to the General).

TUNA.—Antonia Diaz Cardoso.

TUNJAQUE (*see* MESVA).

TURMEQUÉ (*in* TUNJA).—Juan Torres Contreras.

TUNJA.— { Estevan de Albarracin.
Francisco Nuñez Pedroso (founder of Mariquita).
Francisco Ruiz.
Gomez de Cifuentes.
Martin Hernandez de las Islas.
Miguel de Patarroyo.
Pedro Yañez.
Pedro de Duza de Madrid.
Juan de Villanueva (F.).

TURA (*in* VELEZ).—Luis Hernandez.

UBAQUE.—Juan de Cespedes,* captain of cavalry.

UBATE.—Diego Rodriguez de Valderas (F.).

USMA.—Juan Gomez Portillo.

VELEZ.—Miguel Seco Moyano.

VIRACACHA.—Francisco Martinez.

ZIPACOA.—Francisco de Figueredo.

ZIPAQUIRÁ.—Juan de Ortego (The Good).

ENCOMENDEROS

*—Came with Quesada. (Q.)—In Quesada's Report. (B.)—Came with Belalcazar. (F.)—Came with Federman.

Albarracin, Estevan de	TUNJA.
Alcocer, Hernando de	BOYACA.
Angulo, Hernan Velasco	TOCANCIPA.
Avendaño Juan de (B.)	TINJACA.
Bermudez, Antonio (Q.)	CHOACHI.
Bernal, Cristoval	SESQUIBE.
Cabrera, Pedro Nunez	BONSA.
Calderon, Diego Paredes (Q.)	SOMONDOCO.
Calvo, Diego de Paredes	CUNUBA.
Cardoso, Antonio Diaz (Q.)	SUBA, TUNA
Carrion, Pedro Rodriguez de los Rios y Mantilla (Q.)	IGUAGUE.
Castillejo, Hernan Gomez	SUESCA.
Cespedes, Francisco de* (Q.)	{ MESVA, SUAQUE, TUNJAQUE.
Cespedes, Juan de	UBAQUE.
Cifuentes, Gomez de (Q.)	TUNSA.
Cogolludo, Mateo Sanchez	OCAVITA.
Contreras, Juan Diaz	TURMEQUÉ.
Diaz, Alfonso	SERREZUELA.
Esquivel, Anton de (B.)	TOACA.

Faria, Francisco Gomez de	SANTA FÉ.
Figueredo, Francisco de (Q.)	ZIPACOA.
Guemes, Juan de	SOBACHOQUE.
Guevara, Domingo Ladron de	SANTA FÉ.
Hidalgo, Juan Diaz	TOCAIMA.
Hernandez de las Islas, Martin Luis	TUNJA.
Hernandez, Luis	TURA.
Herrezuelo, Pedro Ruiz (Q.)	PANQUEBA.
Lanchero, Luis (F.)	SUSA.
Llana, Juan de Quiñones de	FURACUIVA.
Lopez, Juan (Q.)	SACHICA.
Leon, Pedro Rodriguez de (G.)	{ CHUSBITA, SAGRA.
Lozano, Domingo (F.)	IBAGUE.
Madrid, Juan de	PESCA.
Madrid, Pedro Diego de (Madrid Pedro de Daza (Q.)	TUNJA.
Maldonado, Francisco Arias (B.)	SORA.
Maldonado, Baltazar	DUITAMA.
Martinez, Antonio	THE PANCHES.
Martinez, Francisco	VIRACACHA.
Mendez, Gaspar	TEUSACA.
Mestanza, Francisco de	PASCA.
Miranda, Cristoval de	THE PANCHES.
Miranda, Pedro de	{ SIQUIMA, TOCAREMA.
Molina, Andres Vasquez de (Q.)	CHOCONTÁ.
Molina, Pedro de	TOCAIMA.
Monroy, Cristoval Arias de (Q.)	{ MACHETA TIBIRITA.
Monsalve, Francisco de	GUACAMAYA.
Monteagudo, Pedro Lopez de (Q.)	CUITIBA.
Montonez, Diego Suarez (Q.)	SOTAQUIRA.
Moyano, Miguel Seco	VELEZ.

Nieto, Cristoval Gomez (F.)	. . .	TABIO.
Nuñez, Pedro Francisco		TUNJA.
Olalla, Antonio de (Q.)	. . .	BOGOTÁ.
Olalla, Alfonso de (F.)	. . .	FACATATIVÁ.
Olmos, Juan de (Q.)	. . .	{ NEMOCON, PACHO.
Ortego, Juan de (Q.)	. . .	ZIPAQUIRÁ.
Ortiz, Ortun	. . .	GAMESA.
Patarroyo, Miguel de	. . .	TUNJA.
Pedroso, Francisco Nunez	. . .	TUNJA.
Portillo, Juan Gomez	. . .	USMA.
Prado, Hernando de	. . .	TOCAIMA.
Rey, Mateo Sanchez	. . .	SANTA FÉ.
Rivera, Juan de	. . .	MACHETA.
Rivera, Pedro Bravo de	. . .	CHIBATA.
Roa, Cristoval de (Q.)	. . .	SOTATENZA.
Rodriguez, Francisco (Q.)	. . .	SORACA.
Rodriguez, Cristoval	. . .	SUESCA.
Romero, Diego (Q.)	. . .	EUGATISA.
Ruiz, Francisco	. . .	TUNJA.
Ruiz, Cristoval	. . .	SANTA FÉ.
Salamanca, Pedro Rodriguez de (Q.)	. . .	CHITALASAL.
Sanchez, Miguel (Q.)	. . .	ONZAGA.
San Miguel, Cristoval de	. . .	CHIA.
Solguero, Francisco (Q.)	. . .	MONGOA.
Sorro, Gonzalo Garcia	. . .	SANTA FÉ.
Sotelo, Pedro de Acebo (Q.)	. . .	TOPAIPI.
Suarez Rondon Gonzalo* (Q.)	. . .	ICABUCO.

* Original captains under Quesada: Juan de Cespedes; Juan de Junco (returned to San Domingo); Gonzalo Suarez de Rondon; Juan de San Martin (returned to Spain); Lazaro Fonte (died in Quito); Pedro Fernandez Valenzuela (went home to Cordova, became a priest); Antonio de Lebrija (died childless); Juan de Montalvo (oldest soldier, died 1597).

Tapur, Juan (Q.)	. . . . .	PESCA.
Tordehumos, Francisco de	. . . . .	COTA.
Torres, Juan de .	. . . . .	SANTA FÉ.
Toro, Cristoval de	. . . . .	CHINGA.
Valderas, Diego Rodriguez de (F.)	. . . . .	UBATE.
Venegas, Hernan (Q.)	. . . . .	{ GUACHETA, GUATAVITA.
Vilaspasas, Lorenzo (F.)	. . . . .	TOCAIMA.
Villanueva, Juan de (F.)	. . . . .	TUNJA.
Yañez, Pedro	. . . . .	TUNJA.

APPENDIX IV

GRANT OF ARMS TO THE LICENTIATE GONZALO JIMENES DE QUESADA

DON CARLOS and Dona Juana &c. With regard to you, the Licentiate Gonzalo Jimenes, who had been Lieutenant of the Governor of the new kingdom of Granada, which is in our Indies of the Ocean Sea, we have been informed that, about twelve years ago, you went to the Indies with the desire of serving us. Being in the province of Santa Martha you went, by order of Don Pedro Hernando de Lugo, Governor of that Province, as his Lieutenant-General for his expedition of discovery up the great river. You took with you 500 men and 90 horses, eight of them being your own, which you took for our service in that expedition, with many other things. With great difficulty and labour you succeeded in finding the entrance to that mainland. To do this it was necessary first to take certain Indian towns. Having found the entrance you ascended the river with certain brigantines, and the further you ascended the less food you found for your people, the Indians becoming more warlike. Yet you continued to prosecute your voyage until you came to a place called La Tora, and from there you went on until you reached the said kingdom of New Granada, enduring on the way much labour and many infirmities, all for our service. Arriving in the kingdom of New Granada with your followers, who were few, for

most of them had died on the road, you conquered and subdued the natives, and put them all under our yoke and royal lordship, whence our fifths consisted of great quantities of gold, silver, and emeralds, being in addition to what we always received previously, from the said land. In the encounters, skirmishes, and fights which continually took place with the said Indians, you were ever the first, and in all this you served us as a good and loyal vassal, passing through much labour, hardship, and want, as appears from a report which you have made and presented to us in our Council of the Indies. In it you pray that, in reward for these services, you and they may be kept in perpetual memory. We have therefore ordered that you shall be given the following shield of arms. Parted per fess in chief gules a lion or with a naked sword in its fore-paw, in memory of the bravery and resolution you showed in ascending the river in the face of such hardships, and in discovering and subduing the said new kingdom. In base or a mount proper over waters of the sea azure and argent, semée of emeralds vert, in memory of the emerald mines which you discovered in the said new kingdom, and at the foot and on the top of the mount some trees vert. On a bordure azure four suns or, and gules four moons argent. Crest on a closed helmet with a baldrequin azure and or, a lion or with a naked sword in his fore-paw, and eagles' wings issuing from the helmet.¹

Given at Madrid on the 21st of May, 1546.

I, THE KING.

¹ *Nobiliario de Conquistadores de Indias* (le publica la Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles), por el Señor Dr. Don A. Paz y Melia. (Madrid, 1892).

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